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FAITH AND HISTORY

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THE FOURFOLD SACRAMENT

THE SACRAMENT OF COMMON LIFE

PRAYERS WRITTEN FOR USE IN AN INDIAN COLLEGE

FAITH AND HISTORY

BY

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'A BRIEF HISTORY OF CIVILISATION,' 'BUILDERS OF EUROPE'

'MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1494–1914'

'THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST'

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LONDON

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

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1926

First Published September 1926

Made and Printed in Great Britain
by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh

16.9
H867

FOREWORD

Some of the matter in the ensuing pages has already appeared in the *Friend* and the *Indian Review*, and thanks are due to the editors of those journals.

Acknowledgments are also due to Dr MacNicol and to the Association Press, Calcutta, for permission to quote from *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*; to the Oxford University Press for permission to quote from *Indian Theism*; and to Messrs Macmillan & Co. Ltd. for permission to quote from *Kabir*, *Gitanjali*, and *Indian Theism* (*'The Religious Quest of India' Series*).

56406

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 9

CHAPTER

I. THE STUDY OF HISTORY 13

'Scientific' History 13
'Antiquarian' History 15
'Practical' History 17
'Pseudo-Patriotic' History 20
History as the Life-Story of Humanity . 22
History and Religion 26
History and Natural Science . . . 28
The Purpose behind History 31

II. THE URGE THROUGH HISTORY . . 38

The Under-emphasised Motive of Co-operation 38
Freedom and Love 48

III. THE INCARNATION 58

Science and Religion 58
The Place of Death in Evolution . . 62
The Place of Self-Sacrifice in Evolution . 64
The Relics of the Beast 66
The Coming of Christ 68
Christ's Death and Conquest of Death . 71

IV. THE KINGDOM OF GOD 75

The Environment of Christ's Life . . 77
Christ's Refusal of Political Messiah-hood . 90
Christ's Method in the Conquest of Evil . 101
The Ideals of the Kingdom of God . . 104
The Spiritual Kingship of God . . 108

CHAPTER PAGE

V. THE INDWELLING SPIRIT . . . 111

The Creative Force working in History . 111
The Instance of Shakespeare . . . 115
Instances from India 125
The Spirit of God in History . . . 129
'The Appeal to the Inward Light' . . 132
Some Corollaries of the Belief in the Indwelling Spirit 135

VI. THE BASIS OF HOPE 146

The Place of the History-Teacher in the Conflict against Modern Pessimism . . 147
Christian Optimism 149

VII. THE HISTORY-COURSE OF THE FUTURE 157

VIII. THE STREAM OF HISTORY . . . 162

China 163
India 167
Arabia and Palestine 173
Greece 177
Rome 182
The Middle Ages 186
Germany 191
Great Britain 192
The United States of America . . . 194
France 197
Other Modern Peoples 199

INDEX 201

INTRODUCTION

The opinion is growing that to a wrong teaching of history in the schools of the world is to be attributed a very great deal of the international misunderstanding, hatred and conflict which torment humanity to-day. In almost every nation the rising generation is being trained up in an attitude towards national aspirations, towards the records of national development in the past, and towards the aspirations and development of other nations, which is bound to result in disaster when the child of to-day becomes the citizen of to-morrow.

Under the conditions of modern democracy this training of the youth of the world in a bad international mentality leads later on to the development of a state of mind amongst the responsible voters of the nations which renders them fatally liable to be jockeyed into acquiescence in unscrupulous courses of aggression, because the crude national passions have been awakened and appealed to which were bred in them by bad history-teaching at school.

If the new international mind which has developed amongst men of enlightened good-will since the Great War, and which finds expression in an increasing interest in and devotion to the ideals of the League of Nations, is to become strong enough and general enough to render international warfare —that unimaginable horror under modern scientific

conditions—impossible in the future, then there is an urgent need for the history-teachers of the world, and for those who are responsible for the curricula of history-teaching in the schools of the world, to set their hands zealously to the task of developing a new international type of history-teaching. The first, and by far the most important, line of defence against the suicide of the human race in some great future conflict, is the training of the youth of to-day, throughout the nations of the world, in a genuine international consciousness, in a realisation of the unity of all mankind, in a love for and enthusiastic interest in humanity as a whole, and in an attitude towards the individual nation, which, while encouraging an honest and self-respecting pride in the achievements of the past, shall view and value these achievements in the light of the contribution made thereby to the welfare of humanity, rather than as something rendering it possible for the individual nation to domineer over other sections of humanity.

Viewed in this light the study of British history, for instance, will become of fascinating interest for its revelation of the development of a unique and invaluable contribution to the welfare of humanity as a whole, in the shape of Parliamentary government: and for its record of the adoption of the machinery of such government in a widening series of political units, from the Saxon Hundred to the dominions of the British Empire, and the League of Nations.

The history of France, again, will show, on the one hand, the carrying forward of the august traditions of peace-giving, civilising integration

received from ancient Rome, and, on the other hand, the forcible revival of the ancient Greek conceptions of democracy as seen in the history of the Revolution.

The history of Germany will be the story of the effort to re-incarnate the Roman Empire in the Holy Roman Empire: and of the Reformation, the re-birth of liberty in thought and conscience.

The history of Italy will be the history of the Roman Empire, of the Imperial Roman Church, and of the nineteenth-century resurrection of liberty and unity.

Similarly there will be the contributions to be studied which the United States, India, China, and many other countries have made to the life and well-being of humanity.

But if the youth of the world is to be given the opportunity of thus studying history as the life-story of all humanity, and national history merely as the record of a particular contribution towards the welfare of mankind as a whole, it is obvious that something more thorough-going is needful than a mere re-modelling of curricula or re-writing of text-books. The teacher of history, and the writer of history, must first be converted to a new attitude towards their task. They must themselves become men of an international mind, thinking for humanity and building for the future of the race as a whole. Unless this is so, their work will be merely superficial, founded on insincere protestations of international-mindedness, or on a merely sentimental cosmopolitanism.

The history-teaching of the future, which is of such immense importance if mankind is to be

saved from the suicide of modern warfare, depends for its existence upon something deeper than sentiment or general good-will. It can only come into being through a real love for humanity: and through a love whose sanctions go out beyond the individual to the divine.

In other words, if the right international mind is to be created by the history-teachers of the world amidst the youth of the world, these teachers must be possessed by a genuinely religious purpose, and a purpose that shall be pursued with the fervour and the self-forgetfulness which religion alone can call into existence.

This little book is written in the conviction that the times cry aloud for a new type of history-studying and history-teaching, inspired by a new vision and a new motive—a vision and motive which shall be followed with true religious devotion. No credal formula can limit and define these things. If such formulation were attempted, it would merely provide ground for objection, and distract attention from the main thesis herein presented. None the less, nothing but religion—true and spiritual religion bearing fruit in trust, hope, love—will effect the immense transformation which is required. Nothing else can turn the history-teaching in the schools of the world into a force, not of narrow nationalistic particularism, but of genuine internationalism, so that wars may cease, and mankind become one brotherhood.

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FAITH AND HISTORY

Chapter I

THE STUDY OF HISTORY

'Scientific' History

There are various ways of regarding the need for and purpose of history-teaching in schools and colleges. History may be thought of, for instance, as an exact science, useful as a 'formal' exercise, as a kind of mental gymnastic calculated to inculcate certain desirable mental qualities, such as regard for accuracy and exact truth. The ideal set before the student in this case is that of discovering with unfailing exactitude precisely what happened upon any given occasion in the past. To this end original documents are hunted up, archives ransacked, and every effort made to bring to bear upon the point at issue every available particle of contemporary evidence, from as many different sources as possible.

This conception of historical study was sanctified during the nineteenth century by the achievements of the famous school of scientific historians which sprang up at Oxford under the leadership of the great Professor Freeman. The work of this school, although showing a marvellous industry and faithfulness to truth (to truth, that is, considered as an exact reproduction of facts as they occurred),

cannot be said to be distinguished by that ravishing interest which (in the common phrase) renders one unable to put a book down until one has read it through from cover to cover.

To the average student such historical study—however good it may be for his mental development—is none the less an unutterable weariness to the flesh. It disgusts him with its tediousness and its concentration on infinitesimal detail. As a mental discipline, calculated to produce exactitude of mind, it cannot for a moment compare with mathematical studies, which deal with a realm in which absolute accuracy is definitely attainable, whereas in historical study such accuracy, however detailed and painstaking the investigation, can never be more than approximate. Such 'scientific history' is eminently calculated to create in the young student a lasting distaste for all historical study, and to give him an aversion to those very 'scientific' methods of research which it is designed to foster.

But the real objection to this type of history lies deeper—in the fact that by approaching the story of the past from such an angle one is inevitably prevented from seeing the wood for the trees. Truth understood as the literal and meticulous cataloguing of facts obscures truth understood in its broader and more authentic sense as the interpretation of facts. To take a simple example—it is very much more important to us nowadays that we should know the truth of why Europe rose up as one man to move eastwards in the Crusades, than that we should know the size and names and rigging of the ships in which the Crusaders went, or

the number of teeth that were extracted from the Jews to provide their equipment. The first—the motivation of the Crusades—is a bigger and more true form of truth than the second, and is of infinitely more importance to the twentieth-century student. Truth is a greater thing than accuracy of detail in the enumeration of facts; and a view of history, or a teaching of history, which concentrates attention upon the latter, bears with it a grave danger of crippling the student's appreciation of the former.

'Antiquarian' History

There is another view of history-teaching which is popular to-day. It may be called, without injustice, the antiquarian view. Those who take this view eschew so far as possible the study of military and diplomatic history, and of the life of the State as a whole, in order to concentrate upon the life of the people. They endeavour to discover with accuracy what the various classes of society ate, drank, wore, lived in, earned, read, and so forth. They busy themselves with determining how the fields were ploughed, how the land was held, how industry was organised, how communications were maintained, and generally what kind of a life the people led in past ages.

This is an admirable study, and provides material of fascinating interest (thus differing *toto caelo* from the so-called 'scientific' history). It appeals especially, and is especially well-suited, to the boys and girls in the lower classes of our schools, for whom it makes the past live again with a freshness such as no other type of history can attain. A

correspondingly heavy debt is owed by the history-teacher to J. R. Green, S. R. Gardiner, and the other pioneers of such ' antiquarian ' history.

But, after all, this interest in the intimate details of the everyday life lived by our ancestors is an antiquarian interest. It is of course extremely intriguing to know just how the elbow-joint was managed in the armour worn by the Black Prince at Crecy, or the exact methods employed for winnowing corn in the Anglo-Saxon village, or the kind of bed in which Shakespeare slept ; but there is obviously a limit to the appeal and the usefulness of such information. This antiquarian history is better than the high-and-dry scientific history, because it has a constant human interest. The task of writing it is conceived and carried through in accordance with the great maxim that the proper study of mankind is—not dry details of fact—but man. The rising generation is given through such study a sense of the human value of the past, and of the continuity of past with present : and these are valuable gifts for the study of history to bestow. But, apart from this, there cannot be said to be much practical value about such history. The imagination may be enlarged ; a fellow-feeling with the past may be created : but these things are not enough. If the study of history is to justify its claim to an increasingly prominent place in the curriculum of the modern school or college, it must give something more definite and ponderable than such vague advantages. It must prove its power of making an essential contribution to the building of a future that shall be better than the war-shattered past.

It must justify its claim to the attention of men and women who in their teaching-work cannot forget the woes and miseries of mankind, and who desire above all else that their work may help to make the world a better place than they have found it.

'Practical' History

This brings us to a third view of history and history-teaching—a view much in favour nowadays. For convenience' sake we may call it the 'practical' view. According to this type of thought the history of the past is mainly if not entirely studied in order that something useful in the present may be gained from the experience of the past. By marking the mistakes and pitfalls which have proved disastrous in preceding ages, and the lines of policy and action which have proved successful, we are to learn how to avoid the former and follow the latter in the present age.

This is, from many points of view, a noble view of history. It makes it no mere academic study, no barren search for uselessly accurate information regarding the details of what happened long ago. It gives to it a far higher importance than that of a merely pedagogical exercise designed to broaden the imagination and to inculcate the 'time-sense' by showing the human interest of the past. It makes the study of history a real practical method of bettering the world in the present and the future. Such study is clearly of the greatest importance and advantage for the statesman and the amateur statesman—for everyone, in fact, who desires to fit himself for taking a wise, constructive

and responsible share in the government of his country, whether as an actual legislator or merely as an intelligent voter.

In the past there has been too little history written from this 'practical' point of view. Much more is needed in the future, if historical studies are to justify their retention and extension in the educational curricula of the world. Perhaps the most notable single achievement in this sphere is to be found in Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, a model of the right way in which such history should be written; but, on the whole, the body of work so far carried through in this field—at any rate in the English language—is insignificant.

Yet it is necessary to recognise that no merely practical view of history-teaching, and historical studies, can be sufficient. In the past, as has just been observed, this view has been under-emphasised; but in face of present-day tendencies in regard to education as a whole, it is easily conceivable that the 'practical' view of history might in the near future come to be over-emphasised. There is an almost irresistible tendency to-day towards the habit of mind which demands 'practical education,' which insists (in other words) that the rising generation shall be educated not for life but for livelihood. As an extreme illustration of this perverted attitude of mind the protests may be referred to which are sometimes heard when matter is introduced into lessons or lectures which does not definitely relate to the training of the students for passing the examination which lies at the close of their course of study. In such cases the passing of the examination is

clearly regarded merely as the means of qualifying for a good paying position in life later on.

Apart, however, from such open and obvious degradation of the educational process into a means for obtaining bread and butter, this 'practical' (or rather mercenary) motive is continually disclosing itself and giving evidence of the sinister power which it possesses for dragging educational ideals and practice in the mire. All over-stressing of the necessity for passing examinations: all cramming to that end: all selection of 'soft options' in the choice of subjects for study: all lowering of standards in educational or examinational practice, is infallibly to be traced back to this mercenary motive. Men demand that education shall pay them, or they refuse to pay for it.

Now the 'practical' view of history-teaching and historical studies—the view that these things owe their worth-whileness to the fact that we may improve our position in the present and future by studying the experience of the past—is of course far enough removed from these cruder and more flagrant manifestations of the mercenary attitude towards education. But at the same time there is the mark of the beast to be seen thereon. The 'practical' motive is insufficient, is bound to lead to degradation of ideals, because it introduces a standard of values which is essentially mercenary, because it assumes that history is to be studied, not for any truth or beauty inherent in the life-story of humanity, but simply in order that we may get something of advantage from such study for the improvement of our lot.

No one who is really devoted to the study of

history, and is anxious in his teaching-work to infect others with the same devotion, can remain long content with any such secondary and inferior motivation for that work. The ideal of teaching history in order that we may make the world a better place to live in for those that come after us, is high, but it is not high enough. We demand that history shall be taught, and studied, not as a means, but as an end in itself.

'Pseudo-Patriotic' History

At this point it is necessary to pause for a moment in order to consider another 'practical' view of history, and one which is probably the commonest, and certainly the most dangerous of all. The teaching of history in schools—especially in elementary schools—is regarded as providing a suitable opportunity for inculcating national patriotism, and national patriotism of the kind which pours contempt upon the doings of other peoples, whilst glorifying the past exploits of the nation to which the students belong. It is an unquestionable truth that this type of history-teaching has in the past done incalculable damage to humanity through the fostering of national arrogances and antagonisms, and the preparation thereby of a state of mind which has rendered it easy, on the one hand, for war to break out, and, on the other hand, for war, when once it has broken out, to be supported by the public opinion of the mass of the population. The suggestions imparted to the student's mind by this type of history-teaching are assimilated with fatal ease and thoroughness; and the seeds

are thus sown which spring up broadcast in the war-mentality of later years.

This process of imparting the virus of international antagonism through the schools, and through history-teaching, had been going on for many years before the Great War, and has been immensely accelerated, instead of being retarded, by the War itself. It constitutes a great and terrible menace to the future well-being—even perhaps to the existence—of mankind. The one hope of future peace and international co-operation lies in the rise of a new generation which shall have outgrown the crudities of international hatred and of the old swaggering pseudo-patriotism, and shall have begun to think in the terms of loyalty to all humanity. Perhaps the greatest sin that can be perpetrated against the human race is this sin of deliberately attempting to poison with pride and hatred the minds of the young, and to crush their sympathies, which should be world-wide, into the hard, narrow mould of nationalistic patriotism. That history — the broadest-spirited and most humane of all studies—should be prostituted to this purpose is a tragic insult to his calling which every history-teacher should strenuously resent.

This view of history as nationalistic propaganda is so wide-spread, and so deeply rooted in ignorance and prejudice, that it will be found in practice a far more formidable enemy than any other false or one-sided conception of the place and function of historical studies. It is an enemy which will need to be fought deliberately, wisely and patiently, through the building up of a state of mind amongst educationalists which shall lead them to

recognise the true heinousness of the crime against humanity constituted by this effort to make the record of violence and hatred in the past the means of bringing about more violence and hatred in the future—a future in which science is yearly making it more probable that war will mean the indiscriminate destruction of whole populations, with horror and agony on a scale hitherto never imagined. The writers and teachers of pseudo-patriotic history (from Treitschke himself down to the perpetrator of the latest French elementary history which exploits the ruined villages and the mutilated children in the occupied areas during the Great War) must be recognised for what they are—agents of calamity more destructive and devilish than can yet be estimated. If Plato banned from his ideal Republic the grandeur and beauty of Homer because he gave false ideas concerning the gods, far more should these enemies of the human race be banned from the schools and colleges of the modern world.

History as the Life-Story of Humanity

How, then, may we reach a fuller and more satisfying expression of the purpose which should lie behind the study and teaching of history? Neither the motive of scientific accuracy, nor that of antiquarian interest, nor the 'practical' motive of learning to make the future better from the experience of the past—far less the pseudo-patriotic motive of nationalistic incitement to pride and hatred—is to be regarded as right and sufficient. What shall we set in their place as the underlying

ideal inspiring the work of him who feels that history must be read and taught as an end in itself, not as a mental exercise, nor as a pedagogical device, nor as a means of gaining profit of any kind: and who is convinced that a right conception of the meaning of history and a right acquaintanceship with history are the most essential of all elements in a liberal education?

In the first place, it must never be forgotten that in studying or teaching history we are human beings studying or teaching the history of the human race. In other words, we are engaged upon the story of a great community to which we ourselves belong. We are not merely studying our own family-records in the past, but we are studying something which is part and parcel of ourselves: we are studying something which is ourselves projected out into the distant past: we are studying the process of our own earlier development. Such conceptions may appear fanciful and mystical; but if the student is to appreciate history aright, it is essential that he shall come to apprehend and share in this point of view. There is no other method of saving history from becoming a dry cataloguing of musty detail, save only this—that the student should feel that the race behind him, upon whose annals he is engaged, is one with him, and he with it.

History is to be looked upon as the study of the life-story of the race in which we are ourselves immersed and with which we are identified.

But history is more even than this. Our students are to be taught not merely to regard themselves as one with humanity in past and present—they are to be taught not merely to study history as

the record, so to speak, of their own childhood—but also to love humanity, and to desire above all else to spend their lives in the service of humanity. If he keeps this end in view, the wise teacher of history will see in his work the telling of the life-story of the race to those who are destined to become great lovers of the race. He is confident that neither he himself nor his pupils will ever get their due reward from the study of history till they have definitely trained themselves to think of, to be interested in, to love, humanity as a whole in the same way that they may think of, be interested in, and love, some single individual. He sees history as a portrait, a portrait of someone he loves, and whom he must teach his pupils to love. He sees history as the portrait of someone he believes in, of someone whose faults he recognises, of someone whose failures in the past he deplores, but of someone in whose great future he believes with unshakable confidence; and he seeks to create this same attitude of mind in his pupils, teaching them to study the portrait of humanity because in doing so they can get to know better the character of the one whom he would teach them to love, and can thus come to believe in that one the more.

For it is needful to remember that, whilst we are all members of the race, flecks on its stream, wave-crests on its ocean-flood, we also possess the power of individualising ourselves, of setting ourselves apart from our fellows and of conceiving of ourselves as separate from the race. The task of the history-teacher is to turn this faculty to its right use, that of inspiring a true and discerning love of humanity; so that his pupils, realising their ability to look on

at the game as a whole, although they are themselves playing in it, may use that ability to make themselves greater and better knowers and lovers of the race, and to identify themselves more thoroughly (as incorporated members of the race) in the universal enterprise of its well-being.

All true love, whether for individual, community, or humanity as a whole, lies in a sense outside time. The one who is so loved is loved not merely for what he is now, or for what he may become in the future, but also for what he is known to have been in the past. No love can be strong and reasoned and genuinely beneficent without a full knowledge of the loved one's past, even if that past be dark and sordid. True love does not shy at ugly facts. It faces them courageously and redemptively ; and in its view past, present and future are bound up into one unity of delightful interest.

If this is true in the case of love for an individual, it is far more true in the case of love for humanity as a whole. It is not enough, and never can be enough, merely to love our fellow-men in the present, or to love them foresightedly for what they may become some day in the future. It is needful to love humanity with a discerning love that knows the worst as well as the best. It is needful to love humanity with a wide, reasoned love that faces dark facts, and still loves ; and it is needful to remember that we who would thus love the race are ourselves integral parts of the race whose records we are studying, and that we stand or fall with past, present and future.

Hence the study of history is essential for everyone who would become fitted rightly to love and

serve humanity. In the individual, love at first sight, without any knowledge of the past, may be a romantic and even a revolutionary sentiment, but it is weak and thin as a permanent driving motive, and as a thing of nobility and power, when compared with the love that has known and suffered and borne since childhood. That love is a divine thing. So also in the case of the would-be lover and servant of humanity, the love and service that springs from interest in present-day problems and hope for future betterment may be a sound and effective motive, but it cannot compare in wisdom and power with the love which has laboured to acquaint itself with the life-story of the beloved, of humanity, in the past. That love is a divine thing; and the study of history is the creating of the capacity for that love. The teacher of history, the writer of history, and the student of history are all three, if the meaning of history is rightly understood, engaged upon the one task of becoming able to love humanity with a divine love—a love deep and strong, discerning and redemptive, as the love with which God loves men. They are training and exercising the God-given power which they possess of setting themselves outside the race, of studying its nature and portrait in history from its youth upward, and thus of fitting themselves to love humanity with something more of God's love.

History and Religion

It is by this time evident that our search for the true motivation which should lie behind the teaching of history has brought us into the domain

of religion, by the way of love for humanity; and it is an unquestionable truth that, if the study and teaching of history are to be rightly undertaken, they can only be undertaken in a religious spirit. If we really believe in God, not as a distant and inaccessible potentate—not as the Miltonic super-autocrat—but as the indwelling and unconquerable Spirit of Love, the Father of all humanity, Who cares with all His divine heart not only for the race as a whole but even for the meanest and least worthy member of the race, then it is obvious that the life-story of humanity cannot be rightly comprehended apart from this divine Lover and His purpose of love. We shall believe, if our faith in God is more than formal lip-service to conventional ideas, that God has been intimately interested in and concerned about the historical process from its first beginning: and we shall believe also, unless we relegate God to a purely transcendental region of ineffectiveness, that somehow—brokenly, no doubt, and hesitatingly, but still in real and genuine actuality—history is the record of the working out of God's purposes for humanity.

Again, if we believe in a God of love working through history for man, we shall believe also that the world and all in it is a 'factory of souls,' a place wherein souls may be trained to God's purposes of love, so that they may love each other and love Him; and hence we shall believe that in studying history, far more literally and definitely than in studying (for instance) natural science, we are thinking again the thoughts of God, tracing out His purposes and His methods of soul-making,

seeing Him at work in this manner and in that, during epoch after epoch, in creating, not merely single men, but mankind as a whole, for Himself.

We honour, and rightly, the men of science, because with laborious and faithful toil they are discovering and applying natural laws, and such natural laws those who believe in God believe to be God's thoughts, God's methods of creating a world-stage and a world-home for the human race, God's way of manipulating materiality in order to create life and love and the knowledge of Himself.

But in our study of history we are pursuing the same great topic of the re-thinking of God's thoughts, at a further and a higher stage; for in the historical sphere that with which the scientist is concerned, viz. the work of material and biological preparation—the mechanical side (if so it may be called) of God's labour in creation—is taken as already performed; and our attention is concentrated on the manner in which God has worked out His purposes in the story of the development and progress of the human race itself. In this stage the problem to be studied is infinitely more complex than that which faces the physicist or the biologist; for here we are dealing with the free operation of free minds, the universal mind of God and the individual minds of men, in an infinite variety of circumstances and mutual adjustments.

History and Natural Science

Thus the study of history is in direct alignment with the study of natural science as a re-discovery of God's ways of dealing with the world. But

whilst science deals with the pre-human stages of that great and unified process, history deals with the human stages.

Looked at from this point of view the task of the historian is clearly a very high and a very noble one, though at the same time it is a task of extreme difficulty, in comparison with which the task of the natural scientist is simple indeed. The scientist deals with clear, definite and knowable natural laws, which may be expressed in formulæ, and which remain sure and unfaltering in their operation on material substances. He deals with a realm of reality in which cause duly follows effect with mathematical certainty, and in which (above all) the method of experimentation can at any time be called into operation in order to verify theoretical conclusions.

But in comparison with the natural scientist the historian is fated to grope in the dark. He deals with that incalculable abstraction, mind. He has to reckon, not with the clear and predictable operation of sure and definable laws, but with the free working of the inscrutable spirit of man. It is true that the investigation of psychological phenomena is yearly providing us with something that seems more and more definitely to shadow forth (though still vaguely enough) a reign of law in the things of the mind. But such formulation of psychological law, however far it may proceed, can be of but slender assistance to the historian, who has to deal with the distant past, and who is precluded by the nature of the case from making anything that can be called a psychological examination of the men and women—perhaps a thousand

years dead—with whom he deals. It is clearly ridiculous even to consider the possibility of endeavouring to interpret history, where all that we have to go upon is a few musty documents, by the direct application of psychological method. To attempt such an interpretation would be a task comparable to that of a mathematician called upon to employ Einstein's theory of relativity in order to determine the exact position in mid-Atlantic of Columbus' three ships at a certain hour on a certain day in 1492, when all the data upon which he can act is the knowledge that the ships, having left Spain, eventually arrived in the West Indies. The task would indeed be harder than this, inasmuch as the historian deals with a free, self-moving agent, whereas the mathematician would be dealing with inanimate bodies, subject to the predictable operation of knowable laws.

The fact that he deals with the past, and is thereby deprived of the scientist's perpetual standby, the method of experimentation for the testing of theory, makes the historian's task an infinitely harder one than that of the scientist. The historian cannot go back, as the scientist can, arrange his given conditions in the manner most suitable and favourable for his purpose, and then try over and over again, perhaps a thousand times, a carefully selected chain of cause and effect, and so at last form a well-tested theory, or enunciate a demonstrable law. The historian's hands are tied fast by his documents. In comparison with the scientist he gropes in the dark, flounders in the mire.

But none the less (though comparisons are odious) the achievements of the historian, even though his hands are so cripplingly shackled, are fruitful and fascinating to a degree far surpassing the triumphant exactitudes of the scientist. For the historian deals with men, with the working of mind, with God's relations to humanity in the creation of freedom and goodness and love, whilst the scientist deals with the material and the pre-human. And after all, so long as we are men ourselves, we shall never get beyond the great truth that ' the proper study of mankind is man.'

The Purpose behind History

The study and teaching of history deal, then, not primarily with the cataloguing of dates and facts, nor with antiquarian researches into the kind of food our ancestors ate and the sort of clothes they wore, nor with the inculcation of a spirit of national aggressiveness in the present through the contemplation of national prowess in the past, nor even with the gaining of experience whereby the future may learn to profit by the bitter experience of the past: but with the study of the life-story of mankind, that study being undertaken as a means of developing a wise and discerning love for humanity. Behind this study there lies the endeavour to think God's thoughts for humanity over again, to understand a little of His purpose for our race, and to trace the development of that purpose down through the centuries.

It may be of advantage to take the analogy of the fashion in which we study some individual

biography, for instance the fashion in which we study the biography of Jesus Christ (and surely there can be nothing blameworthy, in our consideration of the attitude that should be adopted towards the study of the life-story of the race as a whole, in taking the analogy of the manner in which we study the life-story of the Representative Man, who loved the race as a whole, and died for it). We approach the study of the biography of any great man, and above all the study of the Gospels, in the conviction that here is a life whose externals merely clothe, and in clothing reveal, a Purpose. The life—the true and inner life—is a Thought, an Idea, a Will incarnate: and the details of the career are of enthralling interest to us just because they show us that thought, idea, will in definite and deliberate operation. We study with deepest attention, for instance, such incidents as Christ's treatment of the little children, and His attitude towards the social outcastes, because they show to us plainly the working out in detail of the master-purpose informing Christ's life, God's tender and saving love. So also we study His relations with the Pharisees, because this study reveals to us what type of character and action is most antagonistic to, and subversive of, God's purpose of love. Every smallest detail of the life of Christ is to be regarded as embodying an Idea, as showing the reaction of an eternal Design upon the practical incidents of man's life in the world.

Similarly also we study with deep interest such an incident as the young Lincoln's visit to the slave-market at New Orleans, or Garibaldi's

summons to his followers as he marched out of Rome in 1849, or Joan of Arc's vision in the wood, because these things show to us in development or in actual operation the master-purpose that made a great life.

In all biographical study, rightly conceived and undertaken, we are in reality considering not so much interesting details about a personality which attracts us, but a purpose clothed in flesh, a will incarnate amongst men, living, breathing, working, fighting, triumphing through sacrifice and death. That will may be a selfish will, destructive of the good of others. It may be a will to grasp and conquer. It may be a will to lead men, at whatever cost. It may be a will to create something new and beautiful. It may be a will to lift the life of mankind to a higher level than has ever been reached before. It may be a will to save men from suffering and injustice, to unify them, to make them free, to cleanse them from the relics of beast-life, to express God to them. But whatever the will is which the man incarnates, if his life-story is worth studying at all, it is worth studying because he has made that will his master, and has sacrificed everything to the working out of its purposes through his life.

If this is the fashion in which we should study individual biography, it is ten times more certainly the fashion in which we should study that great biography of the race which we call history. Running through history there is a Purpose to be seen and studied by him who has eyes to see and a mind to learn. That Purpose is a divine thing. It is the Will of God for this humanity which He

has made for Himself through the slow and toilsome processes of pre-organic and organic evolution. And the Christian believes that this Will of God is *love founded on freedom and freedom founded on love*, for at one point in history the love of God was perfectly incarnate, and treated men with perfect freedom, permitting them even to reject and crucify itself.

Thus we have reached a still wider conception of the task of the historian and of the history-teacher. That task is to trace out the purpose in history, to make it clear by the laborious study of detail how that purpose has expressed itself, to determine the steps in the process by which ever more plainly these twin motives of freedom and of love (or association, or integration, or co-operation, or whatever we may call the second factor in question) have shown themselves forth as God's Will on the one hand (this must demand a study of development in religious thought) and as the force behind human progress and the raising of the race towards God on the other (this will demand a study not only of history as ordinarily conceived, but also of political science, of sociology, and of other kindred subjects). For if we are believers in God, we believe the purpose behind history to be God's thought for mankind, and if we are Christians we believe that purpose to be freedom and love.

At this point, however, a word of warning is perhaps needful. Our study of history is of course valueless from anything that can be called a scientific point of view, if we start upon it with preconceived notions and with a faddy desire to read those

notions into the facts and movements of the periods which we investigate. Such a spirit is worse than unscientific and cranky, it is dishonest; for it results inevitably in the twisting of facts to fit theories. It is needful to remind ourselves also that it is quite possible to read history thoroughly —and even to become a great historian—without being able to see in history any purpose at all, but only a chaos of selfishness and destruction. It is possible for a great historian to see with a cynical and pessimistic eye, as Tacitus did, the race parading with pomp and circumstance downwards once more towards the brute. It behoves us therefore to walk warily and humbly, and to be shy—very shy—of the application of preconceived notions to the study of any particular epoch. We must be cautious even to a fault in the drawing of all general conclusions.

But when this word of warning is said, it may also be said that in the past the believer in God and in the working out of God's purposes through humanity has too often kept his religious faith in one water-tight compartment and his historical faculties in another, and has been exceedingly careful to see to it that no communication has been established between the two. A new type of historian, and of history-teacher, is needed, to whom his religious faith will be the breath of life, and in whose eyes history will be entirely inexplicable without that religious faith: but who at the same time (whilst preserving untainted his enthusiasm for humanity and his belief in the immanent purpose of God working itself out in freedom and love through all history) will preserve a scientific

aversion to dogmatism. The world needs the historian and the history-teacher who realise that their faith in God and in God's purpose permeates every detail of their study, and gives a meaning and a glory to every effort which they make towards imparting their knowledge to others : who are convinced that men need not wallow perpetually in despair nor grope eternally in the dark, because God is at work in the world : and who are able to think out for themselves the meaning of each epoch and movement and personality, in the light of the divine purpose for men.

It is clear that such historians, and such history-teachers, will be interested in, and will love, humanity as a whole ; for they will be looking as it were with the eyes of God upon the progress of the race as a whole. They will contemplate and judge of the achievements of any single nation or people from the point of view, not of narrow national prejudice for or against that nation or people, but of the well-being of humanity as a whole, such achievements being worth while only in so far as they have contributed something solid and permanent to the uplifting of humanity through the fulfilment of the divine purpose of freedom and love.

The student of history will never get the full reward from his study till he has definitely trained himself—or has been helped by others to train himself—in thinking of, being interested in and enthusiastic for, in short in loving, humanity as a whole in the same fashion that he may think of, be interested in and love an individual ; and this universal mind can be best attained in accordance

with a genuinely religious resolve to see and to study the purpose of God, which is freedom and love, worked out in all history, of every nation.

Thus we have reached this conclusion in our search for the deepest and most satisfying motivation behind our study and teaching of history. In such study and teaching we are learning to love humanity with a wide, enlightened, discerning love—a love that shall be not a mere amiable sentiment, but a deep-going passion, reinforced by a concentration of will and intellect, and called forth by a sane enthusiasm into consistent action for the upraising of our fellow-men. Through all such study and teaching we shall discover with increasing clearness the divine Purpose which indwells and actuates history; and if we are Christians this Purpose will appear to us with ever-deepening certainty to be a Purpose of freedom and of love.

Chapter II

THE URGE THROUGH HISTORY

It is our task now to endeavour to determine the manner in which the divine purpose appears through history, in its twofold aspect of love and of freedom.[1] That task is, of course, more than the task of a lifetime ; and it is one which must be attempted by each student of history for himself. All that can be attempted here is the suggestion of certain lines of thought which the individual student or teacher may find it worth his while to follow.

The Under-emphasised Motive of Co-operation

With regard first to the love-aspect of the purpose behind history. We are apt to lament the fact that there is so little unselfishness and co-operation in the world around us. But it is well that we should sometimes remind ourselves that there is infinitely more of these precious things in the world to-day than there was in the world of ten thousand years ago, or in the world of two thousand years ago, or even in the world

[1] It may be of interest to compare the conception of the philosopher Bergson, who postulates in the creative process of evolution an impulse on the one hand towards integration, or association, and on the other hand towards differentiation, or disassociation.

of three hundred years ago; and that even the longest of these spaces of time is a very little thing when compared with the whole life-story of humanity.

This increase amongst mankind of altruism and co-operation is so obvious a thing, if, for instance, one compares the life of the modern state with that of the primæval pack-group, that it has been possible for many thinkers to regard the history of the human race as the record of the wider and wider expansion of the areas within which these factors have operated. Starting from the primitive bond of mother-love, uniting the pre-human dam to her latest offspring, we see these areas extended through family, and tribe, up to nation and empire and World-League. The whole process is the record of the conquest of the principle of co-operation, the record of the subordination of the interests of the individual to the interests of others, the record of the triumphing of Love, understood in the widest and most catholic sense, over division and hatred and selfishness. Man could never have been man without mother-love to protect the helpless infant against a cold and hostile world, without a home to protect mother and child, without a tribal association to protect the home, without a state-association to prevent the various tribes from tearing each other to pieces. Thus we come to the early communities in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China: and later to the Greek city-state, and the infant Rome. And from these we move on direct, in our study of the process of integration, to the necessity of a wider association than the primitive state, which shall

restrain such states from destroying each other in internecine conflict, whence come the world-empires of Alexander, of Asoka, of Augustus, and the wide peaceful dominion of China, whose great gift to the world has been the apotheosis of the idea of family-love.

We ourselves live in an era of nationalism; and it is hard for us to see the love in the world under the dark shadow of the war of 1914 and the peace of 1919. We live in a period when the balance of the purpose behind history seems to have become upset, when the differentiating, disassociating, freedom-creating element seems to have taken charge of the main movement of history. Indeed, as we look back, we may say not without justification, that for the last six hundred years this has been the case—that during this period, although immense progress has been made in many spheres towards co-operation and integration, the advance towards individualisation has been still more marked. Nationalism has meant the subordination of all other claims to those of the freedom of the national state, so that whilst within that state itself co-operation has been carried to a very high level of efficiency in many directions, yet beyond the state-enclave it has scarcely been given any scope at all for directing the affairs of humanity. The Machiavellian attitude of 'My country, right or wrong' has been suffered to eclipse the demands of the wider morality which expresses the divine impulse towards love of all humanity; and this has meant that, whilst great emphasis has been laid upon the movement for national freedom from external control, and to a lesser degree upon the

movement for freedom within the national enclave, there has been little concern for freedom as a right of every people, only to be secured through the integration of all humanity. In other words, democratic imperialism has been the most characteristic fruit of this latest period in the evolution of humanity, such democratic imperialism being the mark of an age which has fastened its attention upon freedom and co-operation up to a certain level—the level of the national group, but has not succeeded in lifting its gaze beyond this level.

During these past six hundred years nationalism has effectually superseded the ancient and the mediæval universalism as the keynote of history. Moreover, the progress of science has endowed this nationalism with weapons so dangerous as to make the defective idealism in regard to co-operation and freedom, which stops short at the national group, a menace of destruction to the life of humanity as a whole. The lower good has become an enemy to the higher in such a manner that unless this enmity can be overcome, unless the gaze of men can be lifted from the nation to the world-community, there would seem to be little prospect ahead save that of the wholesale ruin of mankind through national rivalry.

Yet we may be justified in believing that the present phase of incomplete comprehension regarding the universal significance of the motives of co-operation and freedom will in time be outgrown. The balance will, it is profoundly to be hoped, be set right through the active labour of men of goodwill all the world over; and we shall realise the fatal inadequacy of an idealism which would

arrest the application of the integration-motive and the freedom-motive at the national stage, without going forward to the international and the universal.

Of that essential development in the idealism of the future there are, of course, plenty of signs already to be observed. There is the League of Nations, a deliberately organised association of the peoples: there is the British Commonwealth of Nations, which has grown up almost unconsciously and at random, but which embodies in a unique degree the twin principles of co-operation and freedom amid a group of peoples of diverse racial, linguistic and cultural affiliations: and there is the great practical experiment in internationalism formed by the United States of America. The United States constitute an environment wherein many races and nationalities, which in the Old World have been violently opposed to each other, are becoming automatically fused together into a new cosmopolitan nationality, whose guiding principles are freedom for individual citizen and individual state, combined with loyal co-operation in the life of the whole commonwealth.

It may be worth while to spend a few moments in considering the causes for the undue emphasis which has been laid during the past six centuries—the centuries of nationalism—upon an incomplete idealism regarding the freedom-motive in history. One reason for this over-emphasis is obvious enough.

Modern nationalism is the heritage of the barbarian invasions which swept over the Roman universalism, or its ruins, from the third century to the fifteenth century of our era. The ancient

universalism—and the same is true to a considerable extent of its pale shadow, the mediæval universalism of Popedom and Empire—had unduly developed the integration-element at the expense of the freedom-element. Men had been called to co-operate, for a long succession of centuries, in a world-association which denied them freedom of individual action (in the first place) [1] and freedom of individual thought (in the second place). The Roman Empire had prepared the way for a reaction towards the freedom-element in history—a reaction which became embodied in the conquests of the barbarians, whose main characteristic appeared to Roman observers to be their love of liberty. Later, the rise of nationalities, based on the old barbarian tribal divisions, may be regarded as a similar reaction from the undue emphasis of the mediæval universalism upon the integration-element of history. The wild chaos of primitive anarchy, which we call the barbarian invasions, had inevitably taken many centuries to settle down, and the process of settlement was markedly incomplete—was indeed still being continually disturbed by fresh invasions—at the time when the mediæval universalism emerged as a decisive factor in world-history, *i.e.*, during the period of Henry III and Hildebrand, in the eleventh century. The great mediæval universalism of Papacy and Empire, magnificent though it was, formed in reality merely a thin veneer, a temporary restraint, imposed from above, and rendered possible only by the still sur-

[1] Under the later Roman Emperors there was a most careful state-regimentation of the details of personal life, *e.g.*, travel, occupation, and even marriage.

viving prestige of the old Roman Empire. When the advance of knowledge combined—in an age which was still the Age of Faith—with the vigorous relics of tribal particularism to render irksome a constraint which fettered men's thinking and prescribed their religion, in addition to taxing their purses and claiming other obnoxious signs of their subordination, it was inevitable that tribal anarchy should boil up once again in the form of modern nationalism. In that cataclysm both Papacy and Empire fell; and as yet mankind has failed to struggle through to success in its task of forging a type of association which shall combine freedom for individual and community with world-integration, with the conscious and willing co-operation of every man and every community in a service of all humanity, and which shall mean the ready subordination of all sectional interests to the interests of the race as a whole.

It took seven centuries to build the ancient Roman universalism. It is as yet little more than two centuries since the last wave of the barbarian deluge washed around the walls of Vienna, little more than a century since the last relic of the secular universalism of the Middle Ages went down before the democratic imperialism of Napoleon, and little more than half a century since Victor Emmanuel—typical sovereign of a typical democratic nationhood — destroyed the last relic of mediæval ecclesiastical universalism (in the temporal sphere) through his abolition of the Papal control of Rome. But already, though the time has been so brief, mankind has built solidly and well the foundations of the new freedom-giving

universalism. Unless science-armed nationalism steps in too soon, and destroys the hope of the race, and civilisation itself, in another Great War, the new universalism is bound eventually to become a practical and working fact.

A second reason for the over-emphasis upon the freedom-element in the modern period of history may perhaps be found in the sphere of religion.

The Jews were the first nation upon earth. They attained self-conscious nationhood, as distinct from a merely tribal coherence, far back in the ancient period of history. In spite of their frightful sufferings—or perhaps in no small measure as a consequence of those sufferings—they were a real nation some eighteen or nineteen centuries before there was another nation to be found in Asia or in Europe. The main factor in this extraordinarily precocious growth of Jewish nationalism was neither race, nor language, nor culture, nor the possession of a well-defined territory, nor an independent and centralised governmental system, nor even that indefinable reality known as national consciousness—but religion.

The Jews were intensely nationalist for nearly two thousand years before other peoples developed a genuine sense of nationality, because from the earliest dawn of their history they had believed with their whole soul that they were God's peculiar people; that God was pre-eminently their God; indeed that He had little relationship with other peoples, except as an avenger of wrongs done to the Jews.

Judaism is the only distinctively national religion

on earth—or the only one which has survived. It is a tremendous binding force, as the history of the Jewish people during the past three thousand years most amply demonstrates.

The records, both religious and historical, of this strongly nationalistic faith are preserved, of course, in the Old Testament Scriptures. The European universalism of the mediæval period was nurtured by a Church which kept the Bible a sealed book to the laity, and retained all religious authority, and practically everything that was done in the way of education, very effectively in its own hands. With the Reformation the Bible became open and accessible to all men, and every Protestant was encouraged to read it for himself. Moreover, through the invention of printing, education soon became widely extended. The result was seen in what became—to all intents and purposes—a vast revival of Judaism, or at least of Judaistic ideas concerning the relations between religion and nationalism. The men of the nascent nationalities of the Reformation period were intensely religious in their outlook on life. They studied the records of the Old Testament with an eager but uncritical zeal, which inevitably led them to regard the primitive nationalistic sentiment expressed in many sections of those records as divinely imparted instruction regarding the attitude which they themselves should adopt. Moreover, they belonged to a stage of crude and primitive nationalism in many ways similar to that in which the Jewish Scriptures had been written; and hence the oracles of Jewish nationalism found congenial soil in which to sow the seeds of an animosity and

hatred towards other nations against which the greatest Jewish prophets had protested in vain in their own day, and through their writings protested in vain yet again in the centuries which followed the Reformation. It was thus almost inevitable that these men of the Reformation should concentrate the attention of their own age upon the Old Testament, and especially upon those nationalistic elements of the Old Testament which they found 'speaking (as it were) to their own condition.'

The result may be seen in the appalling crudities in the use of the Old Testament shown by the English Puritans (for instance) in the seventeenth century—crudities which may be paralleled in our own day by the Old Testament religion of the various national Churches during the Great War, when the spectacle was to be seen of the leading ecclesiastics of the nations zealously praying against each other for the blessing of God on their own country's arms.

It would indeed be easy to bring together a huge and incontrovertible body of evidence regarding the fashion in which the nationalistic elements in Jewish religion have been seized upon by modern nationalism in order to aid, encourage, and even sanctify with an almost divine benediction, the aggressions and devastations for which that nationalism has been responsible, from the days of Luther and Henry VIII, through the days of Obadiah Bind-their-Kings-in-chains-and-their-nobles-in-links-of-iron, to the days of the modern democratic emperor's 'Good Old God.'

But whilst these things should be faced and

reckoned with, they should not make us despair for the future. Out of the intensely nationalistic and rigidly particularist religion of Judaism came the message of world-wide Love and the universal Gospel of Jesus Christ. There are to-day many signs that after several centuries of a revived Judaism we are struggling back to Christianity. One of the highest tasks which the history-teacher finds set before him is that of bearing a hand in this work of transition from Judaism to Christianity —from national religion to the world-wide religion of all humanity. He will go about this work with an unshakable conviction that, as out of the old Judaism came the message of world-wide redemption, so out of the new Judaism shall come a new and irresistible re-statement of the Gospel of Christ; and moreover that, as out of the old tribalism there came the old universalism, so out of the new nationalism there shall come a new universalism, in the establishing of which this new comprehension of the message of Christ shall be of the utmost importance. For the new universalism can never be surely founded and built up, unless it have at its heart a new comprehension of the religion of universal love and of inviolable freedom.

Freedom and Love

The position has been maintained above that, owing to a reaction from the mediæval over-emphasis upon the motive of integration and co-operation in history, and owing also to the effects of the Reformation-study of the records of

nationalistic religion as found in the Old Testament,[1] the freedom-element in the progress of mankind has been overstressed during recent centuries. Yet when it is suggested that in modern nationalism we have an undue development in one particular direction—that of freedom, or disassociation, in a certain restricted sphere—it must at the same time be emphatically declared that what is wanted in the world is not less freedom but more freedom of the right kind, freedom, that is, which will look beyond the rights of the individual, the social class, or the nation, to the rights of other nationalities and classes and races, to men of different culture and colour, and to the cause of liberty for all mankind. Freedom is a high and holy and adorable thing; and the fault with our modern world is not that we have too much freedom, but that we have stopped short at an inadequate ideal of freedom, and have lagged behind also in regard to the other essential branch of world-progress—the element of co-operation and love. It is above all essential that the men of our generation should lift their eyes from the nation to the world, claiming for the whole of mankind, as one united com-

[1] It is probably unnecessary to point out that the history of the higher elements in Judaism is the history of a revolt against these narrow nationalistic views. The greater prophets, especially Isaiah and the author of the Book of Jonah, were deeply impressed with the tragic spiritual blindness of their contemporaries in this respect. But these men of wider outlook in the Old Testament were for the most part 'voices crying in the wilderness.' They did not attract the attention of the men of the post-Reformation period with anything like the power with which, for example, the imprecatory psalms and the denunciatory prophecies, and the records of Jewish national exploits—especially those smacking somewhat of 'frightfulness'—attracted them.

munity, the widest application of *both* the great principles of world-history, freedom and love.

As we look back down the long vistas of history, we clearly perceive how delicate a thing is the balance between these two great principles. In the empire of Alexander there was for a brief moment universal integration, coupled with a very wide measure of freedom both for individual, for community, and for race ; but that empire was a mere meteor-flash. Under Rome there was universal integration, but a lack of freedom which at times degenerated into grinding oppression. The universalism of the mediæval Papacy was corrupted by tyrannous exactions, by the shackling of thought, by the commercialising of justice and of religion. Modern empires, those for instance of Philip II and of Napoleon, have been based rather upon exploitation and tyranny than upon any genuine purpose of integration. All history is a record, upon a small stage or upon a large, of the endeavour to find the balance between the two principles. It is a record also of failure in that endeavour. In the Greek city-state there was, for a few decades, an all but absolute liberty attained for the citizen, coupled with that essential spirit of good sense and give-and-take which alone can prevent liberty from degenerating into licence. But, on the other hand, there were the slaves within the state, forming the great mass of its population : there was the inveterate and implacable hostility of each state to all other states : there was the ineradicable tendency of the city-states to enslave each other : and when once the brief period of brilliance was passed, there everywhere developed that fatal

spirit of faction which provided an outside conqueror, such as Philip of Macedon, with convenient traitors willing to betray their cities into his hand in order thus to obtain an advantage over their political opponents within the city.

In the Italian city-states of the Middle Ages there was again developed for a time liberty for the individual citizen; but again there was the same hatred for other states, the same disastrous impulse to enslave them, the same fatal tendency to internecine faction.

Within the American commonwealth the problem of racial and national relationships would appear to have been very largely solved; but masses of the population cry out that they are enslaved industrially; and there is a rising negro agitation against the denial of citizenship and equality to the descendants of the African slaves.

In revolutionary France there was freedom for the individual, so long as his views were those of the Mountain; but for those who thought differently there was the guillotine, and for the rest of the world there was forcible conversion to the revolutionary thought and institutions, at the hands of the revolutionary armies. In Russia to-day an immense advance has been made towards freedom in certain directions, but in other respects freedom is effectively denied.

It is to be noticed that in all these cases enslavement, the denial of liberty, is only regarded as such by its victims. By the slave-masters it was, and is, regarded as a beneficent discipline designed to bring about the associating with the

body politic of those whose benighted ignorance prevents them from combining of their own accord with their more enlightened brethren. If one desires to see how the darkest form of slavery may be honestly conceived of as humanitarianism, as love itself, it is only needful to read a few of the speeches made by the Southern orators in the stormy ten years preceding the American Civil War. For the thought of mankind is continually clouded by prejudice and by self-interest, so that the twin processes of love and of freedom, which should co-operate perfectly for the benefit of men, are twisted and misinterpreted and brought into deadly conflict. The true prophet of humanity is he who sees clearly where such distortion and mis-handling has occurred, and who fearlessly points out the true direction in which the twin processes harmoniously lead. Such a prophet was Lincoln, when he at once exposed the falseness and sophistry of the Southern view of slavery—since he perceived clearly that the universal principle of freedom demanded the abolition of slavery—and on the other hand claimed that the union of the American States must be preserved—since he perceived with equal clearness the disastrous results which would follow the failure of that signal experiment in integration and co-operation.

Thus mankind strives eternally for the balance between love and freedom, for the golden mean between the twin principles of integration and differentiation; and the progress of mankind—the very life of mankind—depends upon the existence amongst us of men who will see clearly what the two principles demand in relation to any given

problem. The task of the history-teacher, viewed in connection with these things, is no less than the production of tens of thousands of such men, till the whole citizen body of every nation shall discern with enlightened eyes the harmonious leading of the twin principles in regard to any given problem, however complicated.

We work for the creation of a world-population worthy of, and trained to the right use of, universal freedom and universal co-operation.

As we look back over the history of mankind in the past, we see Greece giving to the world the idea that to every citizen belongs, as his inalienable birthright, equality before the law and an equal share with all other citizens in the responsibilities and privileges of government. We see Greece giving also the idea of constitutional law, as defining and safeguarding these rights of the individual citizen, and as regulating in a spirit of freedom the relations between him and the State—the manner in which the citizen may co-operate with other citizens and with the State for the advantage both of individual and of State.

To Rome the world owes the formulation of law—more especially as controlling the relationships between individuals — in a great world-embracing system, which should prevent injustice and exploitation of the weak man at the hands of his powerful neighbour in all lands which claimed any degree of civilisation. And to Constantinople, the immediate successor to Rome's legal heritage, we owe the formulation of this universal system of justice into one compassable code, which should be available to all men, so that all might clearly

understand their rights and their obligations towards their neighbours in a civilised state.

To Christianity we owe the consecration of the idea of freedom and love, on the one hand, by the example of the life and death of Jesus Christ (with their consistent teaching of the truth that the only type of character worth calling good is that which freely chooses for itself to follow the right, and their demonstration of the fact that this is God's way of dealing with men even though they slay Him): and on the other hand, by the sovereign conception of the love of God, which forms the rule of life for all mankind, and which is poured generously forth, even at the cost of God's own life, for every man upon earth, whatever his station or race.[1]

To the Middle Ages we owe the idea of mankind as a world-brotherhood united round the Vicar of Christ on earth. To Germany we owe the re-

[1] The significance of such incidents in the Gospel narrative as the rejection by Christ of the second Temptation, His refusal to allow the people to make Him a King, and His repelling of the idea that He should use the angelic forces which He knew to be at His disposal in order to escape the Cross, is to be insisted on in connection with the Christian contribution to freedom. Christ was clearly constantly faced by the question whether He should or should not employ beneficent force in order to make men follow righteousness and obey the laws of the Kingdom of God. Again and again He deliberately rejected the idea, on the ground that men could only be brought into the Kingdom through the attractive power of love and service. The Cross, seen from this point of view, stands out as the greatest of all ventures in the cause of freedom, for here God in Christ, rather than impose righteousness by force, or save men from sin, and Himself from outrage, by force, carried through the method of freedom to what seemed an end of utter failure and despair.

awakening of the idea of the freedom of the conscience, which had come into the world with Socrates at the end of the brief period of the glory of Greece.

Switzerland, Holland and America gave to the world the idea of a nation's right to freedom from foreign imperialistic exploitation.

The United States forms a great demonstration of the possibility of uniting freedom for individual and community with co-operation of race, nationality and state within a continent-wide federation.

England contributed the devising of a Parliamentary system of representative government, whereby the will of the people may readily be made known, and popular government efficiently organised, even in a great and numerous and far-reaching community. To Britain also the world owes the first practical realisation of the ideal of a Family of Nations; for the British Empire forms in reality a vast experiment, and one which hitherto has been extraordinarily successful, in the possibility of a co-operative union of sovereign and independent nations, which shall depend not upon force or legal organisation, but upon the 'sentiment' of mutual loyalty and affection.

To France we owe the reawakening of the idea of social freedom and of equality before the law, in the volcanic outburst of liberty which we call the French Revolution, and which soon became a leaven affecting all the nations of the world. The idea of the co-operation of the free citizens of a democratic state, in a spirit of brotherhood, was at the very heart of the revolutionary message.

To Wilberforce, to Lincoln, and to many other stalwart pioneers of Abolition we owe the vindication of the idea of freedom in regard to the relationships between dominant races and slave-races, to the end that men of all races may co-operate freely together for the sake of all humanity.

There are men even now hard at work upon the solution of that other great problem, the vindication of liberty in the sphere of industry, upon a basis neither of competition on the one hand, nor of class-warfare upon the other, but of co-operation.

Many problems of freedom and co-operation have already been solved. Some, as in the sphere of national freedom, have in a sense been solved too thoroughly, so that the course of history, as has been noticed above, has received a dangerous bias, and the good which has been won has become the enemy of the greater good which is still unattained. But, in the main, progress has been sustained, and the total amount of emancipation and brotherhood achieved has been very remarkable. Each problem rightly solved has opened the way both to wider freedom, and to wider opportunities for co-operation and true unity; and thus the two elements in the Purpose behind history have advanced hand in hand. Where, as in the international sphere, this has not been the case, owing to over-emphasis upon one element at the expense of the other, the anomaly thus created has sooner or later brought into existence a volume of enlightened protest, and a constructive energy of goodwill, which in time shall set things straight.

The battles fought and won for constitutional

freedom, for equality before the law, for freedom of conscience, for liberty from foreign domination in the national sphere, for representative government, for the idea of the Family of Nations, for social freedom, for the freedom of child-races from slavery, have been fought and won not in an isolated cause alone, not merely for the sweeping away of one specific individual wrong, but for the integration and union of the race as a whole, for the breaking down of impassable barriers, for the exaltation of the ideals of service and love, for the coming of the Kingdom of God in all the world.

For the effort to distinguish something of the purpose behind history brings us back to the language of the New Testament, and to the life and example of Jesus Christ. From the earliest beginnings of mother-love upon the earth, up to the building of the League of Nations, there has been a consistent and deliberate drive behind all progress; a purpose of love and of freedom has been more and more perfectly worked out; and in Christ we see that purpose fully incarnate, fully revealed amongst men, in a divine activity working for love and for freedom, working by the methods of love and of freedom, and defining the great end ahead of all its working as the establishment amongst men of the universal Kingdom of freedom and love, wherein God's rule shall be acknowledged and His Will followed by all mankind.

Chapter III

THE INCARNATION

Before proceeding to a discussion of the essential elements in the conception of the Kingdom of God, it will be well to give some attention to the meaning of the coming of Christ for the world-movement of history, whose operation has been briefly considered above.

Science and Religion

In our day publications are constantly appearing which make the effort to tell as one connected whole the full story of the evolution of life on our planet, from the first appearance of the primitive *algæ* in the ooze of the archaic ocean, when the land was nothing but bare rock, without soil or vegetation, up to the latest discoveries of science and the most wonderful triumphs of engineering or medical skill.

It is impossible to read such a record without gaining a new and vivid realisation of the debt which religion owes to science, and of the mutual interdependence which marks these two aspects of man's supreme undertaking—the re-thinking of the thoughts of God.

For in the modern developments of the scientific method of research into racial evolution we have nothing less than a discovery of the laws by which

God has bound Himself in the long process of creation. As we perceive the means by which life slowly and painfully dragged itself forward from stage to stage of its tedious upward climb; as we are confronted by the constant failures and retrogressions, the long periods of quiescence, the brief-lived dominant types, the appearance at last—far down in the scale of animal evolution—of mother-love, that greatest of all God's agencies for the preservation and uplift of His creatures, we are engaged, though we may not realise the fact, upon a profoundly religious investigation; for we are discovering for ourselves the Will of God, and His methods of working out that Will.

A day is surely at hand when religion will fully and generously recognise the immense importance to herself of science, and the incalculable debt which she is coming to owe to science. If religion claims that she deals with the self-revelation of God, science claims the same from another point of view; and the two revelations must be apprehended together if mankind is to gain a true vision of the greatness and power of the Creator. Without its due relationship to the scientific revelation of God's Will and operation in the world, all religious revelation must fade away, as the dreamy starlight fades before the uncompromising and practical daylight. But apprehended together, in their due mutual relationship, these two revelations of God, through religion and through science, may combine to set the human spirit permanently free from the shackles of ignorance and reaction, and to establish as never before on earth God's Kingdom of freedom and love.

Viewed aright, the story of Creation, as science tells it to us, is the most marvellous and terrible of all tragic dramas, purifying the soul of the beholder with pity and fear. At Brussels are to be seen to-day the bones of thirty gigantic reptiles which seven million years ago were caught and choked in a near-by bog. They were probably the dominant type of life in their day, yet they and their kind have vanished utterly from the earth. They represent what turned out to be a back-water on the stream of evolution, a false start leading to a blind end. Yet the process of the rise and fall of their type of life is said to have extended over at least ten million years, and possibly over one hundred million.

In certain caves in the region of the Pyrenees there have been preserved almost unharmed, probably from a period extending to some forty thousand years before Christ, elaborately executed pictures of bison, wild-boar, reindeer, and other animals. They were drawn, with great artistic power, by a race which has been called the Cro-magnard race. These Cro-magnards, who could draw animals better than any other men down to our own times, buried their dead in a way which shows that they had a definite belief in a life beyond the grave. They had rites in their caves which were at any rate magical, if not religious. They were men of splendid stature and with wonderfully big brains. "The brain-capacity of one woman's skeleton found in the famous cave of Cro-magnon, from which the race has been named, exceeded that of the average male to-day." Yet this great and splendid race, with all its capacities,

has utterly disappeared. Some fifteen thousand years ago, after what may have been twenty-five thousand years of predominance in Western Europe, they went down before invaders who were in many ways coarser and more primitive, but who possessed certain advantages in the struggle for existence which the Cro-magnards did not possess.

These two instances may serve to illustrate one of the most fundamental of the laws by which God has governed the creation of His world—the law that there is no final success, that present dominance means future subjection and extinction, that by its very essence the world-process of Creation is for ever striving to improve upon its own achievements, to replace the present best and highest by something better and higher still.

Those who are learned in these things tell us that this constant alternation of success and failure, of survival and extinction, of triumph and defeat, is due to the fact that dominance once achieved means automatically stagnation. The stimulus to improvement no linger operates. The dominant type, by the very fact of its success and of its superiority to other and weaker types, is doomed eventually to be superseded by those whom dire necessity forces either to develop or to disappear. When, for instance, the terrific Cainozoic carnivores forced the first lemurs into the trees, we are told that by so doing they were preparing the way for the ruin of their own descendants through the development of the hand, and so at last of the human brain, in the descendants of those lemurs.

The Place of Death in Evolution

But if the process of evolution has thus been a never-ending tragedy in the suffering and destruction, age after age, of races and types of organisms, this has been far more so in the sphere of the individual creature. There is indeed one thing, and one thing only, which has made creation possible, and that is the ruthless subordination of the individual to the interests of the whole, that subordination being secured by death.

Viewed from the point of view of any given individual, death seems to mark the absolute and irrevocable failure of the whole process of creation. Just as, in its own body, that individual has formed a summing-up of all the achievement of all God's work: so—in the destruction of that body—the extinction of the individual appears to mean, and does in fact mean, the absolute termination of one brief chapter of God's success.

None the less it is true that, if we look at the phenomenon of death from the point of view of the race as a whole, we shall see clearly that without death, without the fluidity and plasticity of the whole process of evolution which is alone rendered possible by death, there could be no progress, no change for the better, no development of higher types better fitted for survival. It is for ever expedient that the one should die for the people.

At the same time it is at least conceivable that some process of organic, as of inorganic, evolution might have been developed which did not involve this ruthless scrapping of all the results of past progress at exceedingly frequent intervals in the

interests of future progress. It is at least conceivable that all the frightful waste of achievement and of creative effort which death involves might have been avoided—that there need have been no 'nature red in tooth and claw,' with all that this phrase implies of the fierce and horrible side of God's processes. It is conceivable, for instance (fantastic though the notion may sound), that the process of reproduction by subdivision which renders some types of *amœba* practically immortal might have become the basis of development for all the forms of life.

Death, it scarcely needs saying, only came into our world with life: and it is apposite for us to remind ourselves that during the vast ages which have seen the evolution of our planet from its original nebula, there have been incalculably longer periods without death upon the earth than with death. Could not death have been avoided altogether, by a truly beneficent God, in His designing of the process of creation?

Any answer given to such a question must in the nature of the case be unsatisfactory; for the question which it is sought to answer is in effect the question whether or no God has done well in allowing existence upon the earth at all. Yet we may say at least this much—that, as the race has been developed, death has proved, all the weary way upward, an essential and paramount factor in that development.

"Amongst the lower forms of life, and in the midst of the primæval conditions of those hot oceans where life originated, the cycle of individual creation and extinction was inconceivably more rapid, the

interval of time covered by a generation was infinitely more brief, than in our more highly developed and less exuberant stage."[1] From then to now the race has been built up on one long uninterrupted record of infinite and bitter tragedy. In a billion billion cases during every single minute of the five hundred million years which are reckoned to have elapsed since life first began on the earth, the individual has paid by death his debt to the race, yielding room for self-development and for fresh progress to a new individual.

The process of creation is an unending record of the subordination of the individual to the race, a subordination demanding as its controlling principle an incredible amount of unmerited suffering. Creation moves forward, like a vast car of Juggernaut, over teeming millions of shattered victims. From beginning to end of its advance the race has been built up on one long tragedy, in which no progress, no success, has come save by failure and sacrifice and death.

The Place of Self-Sacrifice in Evolution

When we come to the development of higher types of animal life, and especially of mankind, we find that the same great and sombre principle holds good. Wherever little areas of sympathy and co-operation have been carved out from the surrounding wilderness of ruthlessness and brutality, they have been so carved out solely by the influence of the subordination of the individual, in suffering,

[1] For a statement of this line of thought see the early chapters of Wells's *Outline of History*.

to the needs of the larger whole. Mother-love, the most potent of all the agencies for the protection of the future from the rapacity of the present —and an agency which operates, of course, long before the human stage of development is reached —has demanded for its emergence and effective working an incalculable amount of such suffering and self-sacrifice. Whereas the cod-fish lays and immediately deserts its millions of eggs, the thrush starves herself to feed her young; and even the jackal will fight and die for her cubs. From the first beginnings of social and family life, far down the scale of evolution, it has been through self-limitation, through the loyal and willing subordination of a stronger individual to a weaker, and of present to future, that progress has come. The qualities which make such self-sacrifice possible—and which are so notably evident in the bee, the ant and the beaver—may be instinctive in certain categories of life; but this does not prevent their being of the same stuff as the conscious loyalty and self-sacrifice of the greatest of human heroes, or (better) of the most devoted of human mothers.

Here, and in many a kindred phenomenon, we catch a glimpse of the working of the Purpose informing all evolution and all history. Hidden behind all the sordid misery and bloodshed of racial evolution, but perpetually operative and efficient, there is this great principle—that progress comes by suffering, by self-sacrifice, by death, at last by the conscious and freely-willed subordination of the interests—even of the life—of him who works and dies for others and for the

future. Progress, in other words, comes in the last analysis by freedom and love: by altruistic self-sacrifice freely and deliberately practised. For God did not wait to express Himself and His own nature in His creation till man was ready to receive in its fullness His self-expression. He has been expressing Himself in His activity from the beginning; for the fuller and deeper meaning of the process of evolution — as seen superlatively in mother-love—is victory through defeat, progress for the race bought by the self-sacrifice of the individual member of the race, life bought by death. And the spirit behind such self-dedication for the sake of others is the Spirit of God Himself.

The Relics of the Beast

Thus, through ever wider and wider operation of this great principle of love and sacrifice, the work of organic evolution at length draws towards completion. Man has been formed. The human hand first: and by its agency, as they tell us, the human brain. Man becomes aware of his destiny: able consciously to assist the purposes of God. He is no longer merely driven forward *a tergo* by blind forces whose workings he cannot comprehend. He is at last attracted *a fronte* by ideals which he can consciously make his own. He is fitted to know and to co-operate in the Will of God. He is fitted to share with God—nothing less—the work of creation, the work of making higher and better things on earth than have ever yet been achieved.

But with this incredible advance, an advance

marked by the steady perfecting of the human brain, there comes the risk of disaster as tragic as the possible triumph of man is majestic. There comes the possibility of man's consciously following, not the Will of God, which has led him upward from the brute, but the relics within himself of the brute-nature wherefrom he is being raised. There comes into the world the possibility of man's deliberately wrecking his own destiny, and foiling God's purposes for himself, by consciously working against instead of with the divine plan to which he owes his humanity. For, if manhood means the capacity consciously to aid the highest processes of creation, it means also the capacity consciously to frustrate them. It means the capacity to indulge brute instincts of lust and hatred, of whose progressive restriction and elimination human history and pre-history form the record. It means the capacity deliberately to abjure the higher evolutionary laws of loyalty to others and of subordination of the self, deliberately to revert to primæval type, and deliberately to avoid in a brief present (but in a brief present only) the consequences of such reversion—a reversion which in the pre-human stage would have meant sharp and sudden extinction.

Thus there comes into the world, in the deliberate following of the lower beast-instinct against the upward urge of the divine purpose making for self-sacrifice on behalf of others, a factor which fights against God and against the race which God is striving to create. Sin pays its bitter wages.

The Coming of Christ

Then, when the brief lightning-flash of the Greek genius had been swallowed up in the blackness of a corrupt and decadent paganism: when the Jewish testimony to righteousness had been forgotten amidst the bitterness of a fierce and intolerant misanthropism: when the Roman international commonwealth had degenerated into a licentious and oppressive imperialism: when Stoicism—the last and noblest utterance of 'natural religion'—had proved beyond cavil its inability to move any but the rarest and most aristocratic (and also the most pessimistic) minds: when

> On that dark heathen world disgust
> And secret loathing fell:
> Deep weariness and sated lust
> Made human life a hell:—

then, when sin was paying its wages of death to a whole world-civilisation, there came the Incarnation.

The time of preparation was at length ended. At last the opportunity had come for the reaping of the fruit of five hundred million years of slow and toilsome evolution upward from the first beginnings of life upon the earth. The infinite price which had been paid for man, in failure, in sacrifice, in death, through every minute of those unending years, had not been in vain. God's purpose had striven through to success at last. He had prepared for Himself a vehicle—the human body and the human brain—whereby He could express Himself fully in the world which He had

thus wearily created, whereby He could demonstrate to all ensuing ages, not merely in concrete and final example the principles through which He had worked from the beginning, but also the mysterious fact that He Himself is not remote from creation, a passionless and disinterested spectator, but that He is rent by the same agonies, ruled by the same laws of failure and self-subjection, which through untold æons had governed the slow uplifting of the race.

God came in Christ, marking the triumphant end of the process of organic evolution (since now a machine had been made, a body and brain, which could express the perfect nature of God), demonstrating the law of love and sacrifice and freedom, saving men from sin—the rejection of the higher evolutionary law and the deliberate reversion to brute-nature. But He came also, and this is perhaps the aspect of the Incarnation which speaks most clearly to our own age, that He might show forth to all time His own nature. He proved in Christ that He was the love which in mother-love from far back towards the beginning of life had become and remained the chief agency of racial progress. He was the impulse to co-operation, and the impulse to purity, which had long afterwards created family-life. He was the loyal self-forgetfulness which had bidden the individual die for the race, and had bound humanity into ever-increasing groups, fencing farther and farther back the dark limbo of primæval anarchy. He was the self-sacrifice which, blindly and gropingly, had prompted the protection of the weak, and—as the most precious of its boons—had given to the child

the chance of securing through the love of its parents that longer period of immaturity without which the higher qualities of body and brain could never have been developed.

Above all—and herein is a great mystery—the Incarnation has shown to men of all ages that God is the love which bears failure and death for the sake of others. The fact that the organisation of living beings from inert matter has from the beginning demanded the subordination and extinction of the individual is no chance occurrence, no convenient expedient. For God in Christ failed and died. The fact that no dominant type can permanently endure in a position of dominance, but that success in the struggle of evolution means stagnation and eventual elimination, is no fortuitous outcome of the working of arbitrary and mechanical laws. For God in Christ was subjected, not dominant. Christ failed and died, as an outcast and a criminal; and in His failure and death He bought, not victory and dominion for the men He loved (for that would have been a barren and cruel gift, leading only to disaster), but He bought for them the ability to set themselves aside and to fail and die as He failed and died, deliberately, gladly and gallantly, that others might live.

There are amongst us to-day two main trends of thought regarding the Incarnation. There is the trend of thought which sees in Christ the supreme manifestation of perfect humanity: and the trend of thought which sees in Him a unique act of God, an entirely supernatural projection of Deity into humanity. But a right attitude to the

long history of our race, as revealed in science, will make it clear to us that these two tendencies of thought, which frequently seem mutually opposed, are in fact one.

The God who had revealed His Will and the laws of His own nature in the long processes of creative evolution is the same God who, that evolution at length brought to fruition, was able to step fully and manifestly into the humanity of Christ, clothing Himself in the flesh which He had Himself fashioned so marvellously, through so many ages, and with such sore agony and bloody sweat. Christ was perfect God because He was perfect man. He was perfect man because He was perfect God. In Him divinity and humanity met in a single point—divinity which is love and loyalty and purity and gallant failure clothing themselves in the vesture of materiality : humanity which is that vesture of materiality organised and indwelt by love, loyalty, purity and gallant failure, which are the Spirit of God.

Christ's Death and Conquest of Death

Did Christ then utterly fail ? Did He perish for ever ? Was His sacrifice but one more self-giving in the unending sequence of self-giving for the sake of others ? Death had from the beginning formed an essential element—an element essential above all others—in the process of the creation of life. It had been the final and supreme demonstration of the law that the interests of the individual are subordinate to the interests of the race. Christ, being human, and divine, died. He died

a death beyond all other deaths of all the ages a death for the race, a conscious subordination of Himself to the advantage of mankind, a deliberate taking upon Himself of the weight of racial redemption. Not only so, but through the ages there have been countless numbers of believing souls who have lived and died in the faith that His death had an intimate and individual connection with the conquering in themselves of the dark relics of brute-impulse. They have come to realise, and infinitely to prize, in this self-sacrifice of the Representative Man, who was God indwelling a human life, a mysterious but irresistible factor for their own individual purifying and redeeming from that tendency to follow brute-instinct which in themselves they have been too weak to conquer.

But was the sacrifice of Christ, even when viewed in this solemn light, the end and sum of His working and significance? No; for death meant for Christ simply release from the shackles of matter and form, those shackles which materiality, however perfectly organised and indwelt by spirit, must yet for ever bear with it. As His followers soon found, Christ—the essential Christ with His spirit of love and purity and power—was only altered by death inasmuch as He was brought nearer to them, and His spirit brought into more active operation in their hearts.

In spite of the Cross, Christ was there with His disciples all the same. They soon found that He was vastly more truly and presently and continually with them than He had ever been able to be so long as He had been bound by the flesh. He

was beyond the reach of their physical sight indeed; but He was infinitely more genuinely their friend and companion and Saviour than if He had never died. His spirit, with all its joyful friendship and its power to create its likeness in the spirit of man, was there to be seen and touched and handled by 'the inner organ of the mind,' in a way that meant incalculably more satisfaction and reality than at the time when their hands could still touch His outward body.

Christ is the full fruit of the processes of evolution. Not only does He mark the point where the nature and being of God Himself could indwell a human body—a mass of lifeless matter organised by the working of God's thoughts into a fitting vehicle for the expression in time and space of God's own spirit and will. Christ is the full fruit of evolution for a deeper reason still. He marks the point where the Spirit of God indwelling organic creation breaks loose from the material bonds which through so many ages had shackled it, and rises to meet God, its own Self, in a perfect spiritual existence, united into one Godhead, yet for ever aiding and communing with every spirit still on earth that strives after the fulfilment of God's purpose in itself.

The Risen and Living Christ is the supreme and final triumph, the full and abundant reward, of all the nameless agony, the untold wastage, the bitter and desperate failure that have marked the slow upward climbing of humanity. His triumph over death is infinitely the most glorious event that has ever happened throughout all the long ages since the earth was first gathered from its parent nebula.

For in that triumph God's full purpose is at last achieved. A soul born in the flesh, inheriting the flesh with all its racial memories and primæval instincts, at last cast loose the flesh, and still lived, perfect and divine, in free and complete union with God Himself and in fellowship with all faithful souls on earth.

Better still, the triumph of God's purposes in the conquest of Christ over death is the first-fruits of the full conquest of humanity over death. The ancient law, the law to which God Himself has subjected Himself, the law of suffering, of failure and of death cheerfully undergone for others, still operates and will continue to operate, with unabated and terrible yet beneficent power. But in the conquest of Christ over death we see the truth eternally established for all souls who follow God's will that death is not an enemy, but a friend, since through death lies the pathway to full spiritual life, and to perfect communion with God.

Chapter IV

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

In the last chapter we considered the significance of the Incarnation from the point of view of the history of our race; and we saw how that great fact on the one hand marks the full fruition of the process of creative evolution, and on the other hand demonstrates that God Himself subjects Himself to His own laws, since He suffered and failed and died in Christ, that He might in Him conquer death for all men.

But the significance of Christ is to be found not only in the fact of Incarnation, and in His suffering and overcoming of death, but also in the teaching which He gave. That teaching, whose purport may be summed up in the phrase "The spreading of the Good News of the Kingdom of God," expresses for all time the Purpose behind history, the Purpose whose twin principles we have called Love and Freedom, association and disassociation, co-operation and individualisation: and whose operation we have briefly traced, on the one hand in the slow building up of larger and larger groups, from the primitive bond between mother and child to the modern League of Nations, and on the other hand in the attainment therewith of a balance, however precarious, between that principle of integration and the other principle, which declares that to

individual men and to communities of men shall be accorded the greatest possible opportunity freely to work out their own destiny.

In what way does Christ's teaching of the Kingdom of God express the manner in which these twin principles may best be worked out for the attainment of the highest well-being of humanity as a whole ?

In order to answer this question it will be needful in the first place briefly to review the environment, especially the political environment, in which the life of Christ was set. For, as in the case of all other great leaders of humanity, His life and the form of His teaching were very considerably influenced by His surroundings.

In this and other connections it may not be out of place to observe that in studying the Bible records there is considerable danger of our regarding those records as belonging to a dim spiritual world entirely different from the strenuous universe in which we ourselves have our existence. We fail to recognise, for instance, that much of the best literature of the Old Testament was written under the direct experience of a series of national martyrdoms each of which was far more tragic than that of Belgium in 1914. We fail to realise that the people who were first cheered by the words " Therefore will we not fear though the earth be removed," were very possibly so cheered because they were hourly expecting an enemy's mine to breach the last wall between themselves and the fierce Assyrian soldiery : that those who sang, in the forty-fourth Psalm, " We are counted as sheep for the slaughter," did so because Antiochus Epiphanes was massacring

their fellow-countrymen by the thousand, and might very soon be massacring themselves also: and that those who first declared "The shame of my face hath covered me, for the voice of him that reproacheth and blasphemeth" may very probably have used those words because that same Antiochus, having sacked the Temple, had set up in it a pig for them to worship.

In the same way we fail to realise that in the environment of Christ political bitterness was at least as acute a problem as it is in the world to-day: that racial cleavage was far more pronounced and all-pervading than it is (for instance) in India at present, and that it was in all probability Christ's refusal to become what we should call a politician that determined His fellow-countrymen that He must be destroyed.

The Environment of Christ's Life

(*a*) *The National Religion.*—In being born a Jew Christ became a member of a race intensely proud, intensely sensitive, and intensely self-conscious—a race separated from other races by barriers, both religious and ethical, which were probably quite as formidable as any existing in our world to-day.

These barriers had in large part been built up by an intensely narrow and exclusive interpretation of the national religion—an interpretation against which the greatest of the Old Testament prophets, and especially the writer of the book of Jonah, had protested in vain. The barriers had also been strengthened rather than broken down by the fact that the Jews had for long, been a subject nation-

ality. In order rightly to comprehend the political environment in which the life and teachings of Christ were set it is needful to consider in some detail the results of this subjection.

The fact of national calamity had throughout their history served to recall the Jews to a belief in God and in the special attitude in which, as a people, they stood towards God. The great prophets had never been tired of insisting that God sent the Jews national disaster in order to revive in them their allegiance to Himself; and this lesson had been so thoroughly learned that their history had drilled the Jewish people into an unshakable conviction that punishment follows sin. The better minds among them had in consequence turned, with a very real measure of repentance, to their God. The influence of these finer spirits in times of national disaster (an influence frequently exerted in spite of fierce persecution at the hands of their fellow-countrymen) had from time to time succeeded in bringing about religious revival: and religious revival had in its turn succeeded in strengthening the Jewish consciousness of national solidarity. Thus though national affliction, which was often largely the result of national pride and exclusiveness, led to repentance, religious revival and a fresh desire to please the national God, it led also through these to fresh outbursts of the national spirit, to fresh contempt for the foreigner and the unbeliever, to fresh national pride and exclusiveness. Jewish history moved in a vicious circle, in which genuine devotion to God, and a real vision of God, seemed powerless to break down a poisonous and fanatical national arrogance—

indeed, seemed rather to add to than to decrease that arrogance, since the Jewish conception of God was, in the main, disastrously narrow and parochial.

(*b*) *The Roman Domination.*—This barren and melancholy process was in full operation when Christ appeared. Palestine was at that time firmly incorporated within the Roman Empire. The Roman government, or rather the individual Governors, were rapaciously corrupt, and at times brutally oppressive. The turbulent native population was every now and then scared into good behaviour by spasmodic acts of grim 'frightfulness,' one of which is referred to in the New Testament passage which speaks of the Galileans whose blood Pilate, the Roman Governor of the time, had mingled with their sacrifices.

Moreover the country was very heavily taxed, and the tax-collecting was carried on by a class of petty officials, mostly Jewish by race, who contracted for the right of collection in the several areas. These '*publicani*' were regarded with the deepest hatred by their fellow-countrymen, as being renegades and traitors to the national cause. They were entirely excluded from all respectable Jewish society; and they took their revenge by using to the full those arbitrary powers of extortion and petty corruption which were bountifully bestowed upon them by the contemporary system of administration. This extortion, carried on by such outcasts and traitors and supported by the swords of a foreign garrison, added fuel to the fire of the Jewish hatred both for the Roman domination, and for its native instruments.

The result was a seething mass of racial bitterness

and enmity, whose causes were to be sought deep in that national character which made the Jew the best hated citizen of the ancient world, and in his turn the best hater of his neighbours.

(*c*) *The Herodian Princes.*—These sinister factors of racial antagonism were reinforced by the presence in Palestine of various alien elements, besides the Roman officials.

In the first place, there were the Herods, the petty half-Jewish, half-Gentile princes who, under the Roman authority and with the support of the Roman garrison, held dominion over two-thirds of Palestine, much in the way in which Indian princes hold dominion over two-fifths of India. These Herods, being kept securely in their position by the military power of Rome, and being by no means good rulers, were correspondingly detested by patriotic Jews. But in addition to the unpopularity derived from their dependence on Rome, and from their general political treachery and toadyism, the Herods had incurred a far more serious unpopularity with their subjects on religious grounds. For they had compromised with heathenism, especially with the Cæsar-worship which at that time formed the state-religion of the Roman Empire; and in the eyes of the fanatical adherents of a rigorously narrow national faith this was a sin yet more heinous than the fact that they were racially only half Jews and politically renegades.

The policy of the Herods was, of course, one of subservience to the Roman government, upon whose favour their position entirely depended. They had also shown numerous signs of a desire to widen the minds of their fellow-countrymen by introducing

customs derived from the wider world of Hellenic civilisation, in which world Palestine formed, as it were, a tiny isolated enclave of anti-Hellenism. On both counts these semi-Jewish, semi-pagan princes were regarded, probably with excellent reason, as entirely opposed to any movement of Jewish nationalism. They represented to the orthodox and patriotic inhabitants of Palestine an utterly hateful treachery to national tradition, a dastardly repudiation of national religion, a base truckling—for the sake of worldly dignity and wealth—to the powers of wickedness, paganism, oppression, and foreign domination.

As a result, the position and policy of the Herods constituted a perpetual stimulus to Jewish exclusiveness and race-hatred, and a factor of constant embitterment in the relations between Jew and Gentile.

(*d*) *The Samaritans.*—In the second place, large areas of Palestine were populated not by Jews, but by peoples of alien descent who had been brought in to settle the country during the periods when the Jewish population had been deported wholesale to Mesopotamia, and beyond, by Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors. When the exiles had returned, the interlopers naturally came to be looked upon with extreme disfavour, both for the fact that they had been imported in this way, and because they had usurped much of the land formerly belonging to the Jews. They were hated and despised also for their religion, which was a mixture of heathenism and debased Judaism, and was generally of an accommodating character. Josephus tells us, for instance, that they had a temple of the Jewish God at

Gerizim, which was turned into a temple of Jupiter Hellenius during the period when Palestine was subdued by the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes (Josephus, *Ann.*, xii. 3).

There had sprung up towards these 'Samaritans,' as they were called, a feeling of contempt and loathing which found expression in an attitude of arrogance and aloofness comparable to that adopted in India by the 'twice-born' towards the 'untouchables.' No self-respecting Jew would have anything to do with the Samaritans. To take food or drink at their hands, to stay in their houses, to pass through their country, even to engage in conversation with them, was regarded as a breach of loyalty to the Jewish tradition.[1]

Here, again, set right in the midst of the Jewish world, was an acute problem of racial estrangement and antagonism. The presence of the Samaritans in the heart of their own country kept constantly in the minds of Jewish patriots the memory of the past miseries and disasters of their nation, and perpetuated amongst them the thought of that sharp and remorseless line of division which separated God's chosen people from the aliens and idolaters—those accursed tribes beyond the pale of Law and Covenant—who formed the rest of the population of the world.

(*e*) *The Pharisees.*—In view of their arrogance and of the exclusive attitude which they adopted towards the rest of mankind, and also of the social and political factors in their own land which were constantly co-operating with their religious narrowness to feed the fire of their hatred, it is scarcely

[1] Compare St John iv. 9.

surprising to find that there were amongst the Jews nationalist parties whose political fervour and virulent hatred of foreign domination would be hard to parallel even in our modern world.

The most sane and enlightened of these nationalist parties was that of the Pharisees. In the past the early leaders of this notable sect, which combined political patriotism with an exalted zeal for the national religion, had battled heroically for independence, both political and religious. At the time of the national uprising under the Maccabees, they had borne themselves so well as to earn the undying admiration of their fellow-countrymen.

In the time of Christ the Pharisees were strongly religious in a formal and ceremonial sense. They were great sticklers for a meticulous obedience to every detail of the ancient religious law, whose meaning, however, they interpreted freely in order to suit their own policy and convenience. In them the rule which had governed Jewish national life for so long was again exemplified—national suffering had brought about religious revival, and religious revival had led to further extravagances of pride and social exclusiveness.

Politically, the Pharisees looked for a national uprising at no distant date, under the leadership of some divinely appointed ' Messiah '—some glorious national hero and king. In the meantime, however, they did not actively oppose the Roman government. Indeed, they adopted towards it a somewhat opportunist attitude. For, whilst they were constantly on the watch for some supernatural indication, some divinely-sent ' sign,' to assure them that the

right moment and the right leader for insurrection had arrived, they were too respectable, and had too definitely a 'stake in the country,' to adopt an irreconcilably obstructionist or insurrectionary attitude towards Rome.

In short, the Pharisees were decent, cultured, pious, and—owing to their position as men of not inconsiderable wealth and responsibility—moderate in their political passions. Either some very unmistakable portent, or some exceptionally acceptable leader, or some superlative outrage on the part of the Roman Governor, would be necessary in order to fan the smouldering fire of their patriotism into the blaze of armed opposition to the foreign oppressor. Yet, because of their traditions and their religious faith, they hated the foreigner as bitterly as any of their more hot-headed fellow-countrymen.

(*f*) *The Zealots.*—The thoroughgoing nationalists were the Zealots, a party largely recruited from Galilee, the region in which Jesus was brought up, and of the peasantry of which He was a member. The Zealots were fanatical in their irreconcilable hostility to Rome. They had an unconquerable devotion to freedom, which was stimulated by the fierce narrowness and ignorance of the current popular Judaism. Their party formed the backbone of the national defence in the desperate and disastrous revolt which led up to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and to the subsequent extinction of the national life of the Jews in Palestine. As was to be expected, they quarrelled violently amongst themselves at the crisis of the revolt, and thus ensured its failure.

The type of fanatical nationalism which characterised the Zealots was founded partly on a furious hatred for the foreign oppressor, and partly on an eagerly cherished belief in the coming of a political Messiah—the great national leader and king who was, as they believed, to be sent by God to win His nation's freedom from the Roman domination. This Messianic hope, which (as has already been observed) was shared in to a certain extent by the Pharisees, but was held by them in a manner at once more sane and more spiritual, dated from far back in the national history. During the period of national captivity in Mesopotamia it had been developed as a spiritual conception by the greatest of the national prophets. For a time it had been deeply ethical in tone. The promised deliverance had been spoken of by more than one of the prophets as depending on national repentance and on obedience not only to the letter but to the spirit also of the divine law. In one case the prophetic vision had pierced even further than this, and the Messianic hope had become a belief in a suffering and rejected Redeemer.

But by the time of Christ the common people, and above all the Zealots, had largely forgotten these deeper and more spiritual conceptions, and had fixed their ideals and their aspirations on another and a far less spiritual strand in the national religious literature, wherein the Messiah was conceived as embracing in His own person the fulfilment of all the patriotic and political hopes of the Jewish nation. He was, it is true, to be the righteous ruler of Israel, but He was no less assuredly to

be the avenger of the wrongs of the Jews on all the heathen nations round about them. He was to be a militant Messiah of the house and lineage of David :—

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their King, the son of David,
At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant,
And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,
And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample her down to destruction."

Psalms of Solomon, xvii. 23-25.

"No stranger or sojourner shall dwell in Jerusalem, and the ungodly nations shall be destroyed by the word of His (the Messiah's) mouth, and when these are destroyed, the rest shall become subject to Him. . . . Henceforth in the popular doctrine, the Old Testament Messiah, the Prince of Peace, became a Man of War." [1]

Hence in the minds of the common people the Messianic Hope had become merely one more factor in racial antagonism. They looked forward eagerly to the time of revenge, when punishment should be fiercely and relentlessly meted out by God Himself, through His chosen Champion, upon the pagan and sacrilegious foreigner. No wonder that under the influence of such ideas there was fostered amongst an ignorant and fanatical peasantry that bloodthirsty hatred which later bore for the Jewish race the bitter fruit of the siege of Jerusalem.

[1] Charles, *Between the Old and New Testaments*, p. 89.

Yet it must not be forgotten that the Zealots were profoundly and fanatically religious, as well as political, in their aspirations. Their religion was an intensely narrow theocracy, but still it was religion. Josephus [1] sums up their spirit as follows: "The Zealots have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord."

It is more than probable that the family of Jesus was closely connected with the Zealots. That party had its true home in the northern province of Galilee, where Jesus was brought up. It was largely recruited from the hardy Galilean peasantry; and Jesus was a Galilean peasant. "The Nationalist party—or Zealots as they were afterwards called—first appeared in those guerilla-bands which traversed Galilee under the leadership of Ezekias, whom Herod executed (*i.e.*, Herod the Great, 37–4 B.C.). But the National party was not destroyed, only held in check, during his iron reign. . . . During the civil war which followed the accession of Archelaus (4 B.C.–6 A.D.) the standard of the Nationalists was again raised in Galilee. . . . The rising, which was indeed general throughout Palestine, was suppressed by fire and sword. . . . The family of Ezekias furnished other martyrs to the National cause. The two sons of Judas died for it on the cross in 46 A.D. Yet a third son . . . died under unspeakable sufferings, while a fourth son, Eleazar, was the leader of Israel's forlorn hope and nobly died at Masada, in the closing drama of the Jewish war of independence. Of such stuff were the Galilean Zealots made. But we have to

[1] *Ann.*, xviii. 1, 6.

take this intense Nationalist tendency also into account in the history of Jesus, the more so since at least one of His disciples, and he a member of His family, had at one time belonged to the party." [1]

(*g*) *Contemporary Race-hatred.*—With these associations and traditions all around Him, Christ must have grown up in His remote Galilean village under the continual influence of an atmosphere charged with fanatical hatred against the foreigner. If ever in all history there has been an environment calculated to breed racial antagonism and extreme political animosity, it was that which must have prevailed in a village like Nazareth during the century which led up to the outbreak of the fatal Jewish war of independence. The exploits of such leaders as those of the family of Ezekias, mentioned above, must have formed the common daily talk of the village. Hatred of the foreigner, and of the Samaritan interloper, must have been the very air breathed by a boy brought up in the midst of that Zealot peasantry. The great deeds of the national heroes of former days and of His own day, with all their reckless daring and utter disregard of personal interests in the pursuit of an ideal of freedom, were peculiarly calculated to appeal to a youth of Christ's unselfish and devoted nature. Here were men who had gladly laid down their lives in order to liberate God's chosen people from the bitter yoke of Herodian apostate and impious Roman oppressor. Was not their example of devoted patriotism, and of entire consecration to the cause of their ancient national religion, one

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 241.

which a boy like Jesus must spontaneously and wholeheartedly follow ?

We must remember moreover that this stimulus to hatred—for such in essence it was—became tenfold more effective by reason of the religious sanctions which lay behind it. The hope of the coming of the Messiah burnt strong and fierce in the breast of every Galilean Nationalist. God, it was believed with unshakable conviction, was to send His own anointed Hero, and to send Him soon, that He might drive the Romans into the sea, whip the Samaritans back to the land of their forefathers, wipe out the odious disgraces of Herodian rule, and set up a kingdom in Jerusalem which should soon make the Jews a world-power able to enforce the righteousness enjoined by their ancient Law on all mankind.

Only those who have themselves been in actual contact with an Oriental population, at once ignorant and fanatical, at a time of severe political and racial tension can realise the enormous power of the forces which acted upon the young Jesus in order to make Him an ardent patriot of the type of the family of Ezekias.

Every Galilean mother must have cherished fond hopes, and prayed ardent prayers, that her son might be the promised National Messiah. Every Galilean boy must have dreamed that he, even he, might be the one whom God had chosen for this high office. Every Jewish patriot must have looked anxiously around him, and marked carefully the career of every young man who showed in any degree exceptional ability, in the hope that here at last the Deliverer was to be found. God

was to send Him, and to send Him soon. Probably He was already growing up in some quiet village, already being prepared in secret for His glorious service in the cause of His oppressed and violated country. In the case of Jesus, who knew that He had been born in the village of Bethlehem, which, according to an ancient and somewhat obscure prophecy, was the destined birthplace of the Messiah, such surmises must have recurred constantly, and with the force of conviction. All His environment must have forced Him moreover towards the belief that, if He was to be the Messiah, it was a political and warlike Messiah that He was destined to become, and a Messiah sent forth to wreak God's vengeance upon the infidel, the alien, the usurper. The expectations of His contemporaries that God would send a military Deliverer to destroy the enemies of the Jewish race and the Jewish religion must have combined with the circumstances of His own birth to exercise an all but irresistible force upon the developing mind of Jesus—and a force driving Him towards hatred and violence.

Christ's Refusal of Political Messiah-hood

Thus, in the setting of His life as a Galilean peasant, in His social and political affinities, in His religious faith (so far at least as this was derived from the views and traditions current amongst His associates), and more generally in His membership of the Jewish race and nation at that period of their history, Christ during His boyhood, youth and young manhood was plunged into a very vortex

of fierce racial hatreds and intense political animosities. He was trained in an environment where every higher influence around Him must have pointed to the way of self-sacrifice through patriotic insurrection against the alien oppressor.

Yet Christ did not take that way. He deliberately turned His back on it. He rejected the temptation to establish His Kingdom by force—to become a political Messiah—not once only in the wilderness, but a hundred times.

It was not through lack of love for His country that Christ made this refusal. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that Christ cared nothing for His own race and nation. He mourned over Jerusalem with the most bitter grief. He felt Himself sent to save the lost sheep of the House of Israel. In many of His parables—for instance in that of the Wicked Husbandmen, or in that of the Wedding Feast—we may read between the lines the heartrending disappointment which He suffered through the failure of the Jews to obey God's will.

Jesus loved His country and His countrymen with a deep redemptive love. Yet for Him uniquely ' patriotism was not enough.'

Early in His ministry, and many times during the course of it, Christ was faced with the temptation to become a political Messiah of the type which His fellow-countrymen so ardently anticipated and desired. This is the meaning of the conception that He might worship Satan and so become King of the whole world. After the feeding of the Five Thousand the people wished to take Him by force and make Him their king,

not only that they might enjoy perpetual free rations—the Galilean peasantry were not so sordidly-minded as to consider only that—but because they saw that here was a leader supremely fitted by His miraculous powers to head a revolt against Rome. Again, after the Transfiguration, Peter protested against Christ's growing conviction of the necessity of His suffering and death, because he felt it laid upon him to urge his Master to take up the role to which (in Peter's conception) God had so manifestly called Him. The result of the protest was that Christ administered a sharp reproof to Peter, and a reproof which showed how closely Peter's suggestion had corresponded with what Christ had come to feel to be an insidious temptation, the slightest concession to which would endanger all His work—the temptation, that is, to become the national deliverer whom the people wished Him to become.

On another occasion James and John, in making their request for the chief places in their Master's Kingdom, probably wished to suggest to Christ that now was the time to throw disguises aside and to venture all in the cause of national deliverance. Even the betrayal of Christ by Judas was in all likelihood a clumsy attempt on the part of an unscrupulous nationalist to force His Master's hand, and to compel Him at last to commit Himself to political Messiah-hood.

But Christ remained unshakably resolute in His refusal to have anything to do with such a programme. Again and again He brusquely repelled the temptation, on at least one occasion giving grievous offence to His admirers by the manner of

His refusal.[1] He would not have anything to do even with methods of passive resistance; for He refused to countenance a programme of non-payment of the Roman taxation.[2] His attitude on this point cost Him the support of the common people, the Zealots. He had already forfeited, by His uncompromising condemnation of insincerity in religion and of temple-abuses, the good opinion of the Pharisees on the one hand and of the Sadducees on the other (the Sadducees were the aristocratic ecclesiastical party, whose gains from the temple worship made them averse to any revolutionary or nationalistic movement). Hence the loss of His popularity with the common people left Him entirely alone, and led directly to the Crucifixion.

In the incident of the slaughter of the Galileans Christ refused, grimly and almost scornfully, even to condemn a flagrant case of Roman 'frightfulness.'

Thus Christ consistently rejected every suggestion that in the name of His oppressed country He should take part in any movement, however seemingly justifiable and discreet, which sought to punish, to restrain, or even to protest against, the misdeeds of the alien oppressor. He would have nothing to do with any attempt to rouse racial enmity and antagonism in the name of patriotism or of the defence of His weak and downtrodden nation.

The foregoing forms only the negative side of what may be called Christ's anti-national attitude. On the positive side He deliberately fraternised with the alien.

[1] See St John vi. 15, 66. [2] St Luke xx. 19-26.

He constantly associated with those despicable traitors (as every Jew regarded them, and with reason), the tax-collectors.

He broke all the rules against consorting with Samaritans. He passed through their country. He engaged in conversation with them, even with Samaritan women, and Samaritan women of loose character. He stayed in the houses of Samaritans. He actually took a Samaritan as His ideal in the great parable of Neighbourliness, whilst in the same parable He seemed to go out of His way to show how poorly the orthodox Jew compared in such matters with the despised alien.

In these and many other ways Jesus not only refused to adopt the national attitude of aloofness and hatred towards the foreigner, but He took pains to inculcate by teaching and example an internationalism which to His orthodox and patriotic fellow-countrymen inevitably involved not only treachery to the national heritage but blasphemy against the national religion.

At the end, Christ deliberately refused to employ the mysterious divine forces which He knew to be at His disposal (the 'twelve legions of angels'), and through which He might have prevented the greatest crime in history, established a world-wide rule of righteousness, and rescued His oppressed and downtrodden country from the odious burden of foreign tyranny.

Instead, He turned His back on the crying needs of His own nation (as it must have seemed to His contemporaries), and permitted an outrage to be committed upon Him which has made His people loathsome and outcast ever since.

Why did He adopt this seemingly craven and anti-patriotic attitude? Was it because He refused to have anything to do with politics and with political propaganda, and hence would not become a political Messiah? No, for He lived and died to promulgate amongst men a conception and an institution in the highest sense political in its nature. He lived and died for the Kingdom of God, which is an association whose ideals and 'laws' govern, not merely the relationships between individual men, and between men and God, but also, according to the conception of Christ, the relationships between the State and the individual citizen. Indeed, the sway of the Kingdom of God is regarded by Christ as covering not only the field of politics in the usual sense, but of law, of industry, of social life, as well as of religion.

Why then did Christ refuse to become a political Messiah?

In the first place, He made this refusal because He rejected all leadership in the worldly sense. He had come not to be ministered unto, but to minister. He had come as a servant. He washed His own disciples' feet. To Christ's humility, simplicity, self-sacrifice, it was utterly inconceivable that He should adopt a regal state, with the power and the duty of coercing men into following His will, and with the necessity of being waited on and bowed down to by servants, followers, ministers. And political Messiah-hood would certainly have involved this.

In the second place, Christ believed and consistently taught that right relationships between man and man, community and individual, com-

munity and community (and therefore *inter alia* right political relationships), can never be established unless, as an essential preliminary, right relationships are first established between man and God. Christ saw beyond the State, to the necessity for the regeneration of human nature, through conscious subjection to God's Will and Purpose for the world, in that loving service which is perfect freedom. He was convinced that no reforms of administration or of national life can be stable or worth while unless they are founded on, and the outcome of, the right attitude of the human soul to God, and therefore founded on, and the outcome of, the right attitude of the human soul to other human souls.

The events of A.D. 70 proved that Christ was entirely right in this policy, even from the point of view of mere 'practical politics.' During the Jewish war of independence it became obvious that, *Jew and Roman being what they were*, there was nothing which would settle their dissension but extermination of the corporate life of the Jewish people, a policy which carried with it the necessity for the extermination of countless thousands of individual Jews. In other words, nothing but a radical change of human nature—a change which would have made the Jew a good citizen of the world, and have weaned the Roman from his love of domineering power—could have prevented the appalling horrors of the Revolt. No mere imposition of a righteous rule from without could for long have damped down the fierce fires of intolerant nationalism on the one hand and of imperialistic despotism on the other. Even from

this lower point of view Christ was showing true 'statesmanship' when He demanded that men should seek first the Kingdom of God, and when He declared that the prerequisite of all progress in every sphere of human activity was a 'change of ideals.'[1] He believed and taught that, in order to become worthy of freedom in any sphere, men must first desire and strive to follow God's Will.

It is to be noted how extraordinarily 'modern' were the problems which faced Christ. We men of to-day live in a world where freedom and co-operation still strive ceaselessly for the mastery, just as they strove in the environment of Christ, where Jewish nationalism was preparing to contend to the death with the Roman policy of world-integration. Christ met the problem, which created such devastating hatred and violence all around Him, with the one unfaltering assertion that the only solution was to be found in allegiance to the principles of the Kingdom of God, which, in place of fierce particularism on the one hand and overbearing arrogance on the other, would give to men true freedom and true love. It may well be doubted whether there is any other solution to be found for the modern problems of insurgent and narrow-minded nationalism and of overweening imperialism.

In the third place, Christ refused to become a political Messiah because His politics (if the term may be permitted) were not national politics, but world-politics. Born as He was, a Galilean peasant in a Zealot village, He yet thought and planned for

[1] This is the root meaning of the Greek word *Metanoia*, which is translated in the English New Testament 'repentance.'

all humanity. To Alexander, when he had learnt to think in terms of the whole world, the petty bickerings of the Greek states he had left behind seemed but the quarrels of mice. When the Roman world-union was shattered by the barbarian invasions, Augustine, thinking again in terms of all humanity, wrote his *City of God*, which expressed the ideal afterwards realised in part through the building-up of the world-controlling mediæval Papacy. Washington was called upon to suffer seven years of privation, abuse, ill-treatment at the hands of the American Congress before, through his patient and loyal endurance of the sufferings imposed upon him by their spite and selfishness, he had succeeded in training the individual American States to forget their jealousies and mutual recriminations and to think, as he thought, in terms of the Continent as a whole; for then, and only then, could they be worthy of freedom.

These instances, and many more of a similar character, may be taken to illustrate the manner in which Christ's ideal transcended particularism, and worked for far ends and for a greater whole than the immediate political environment. He would not become a Jewish national Messiah because He thought and worked and died for the whole world. In order that the world might be made fit for freedom and for love He knew that what was necessary was not the triumphant vindication of the liberty desired by one minute section of mankind, together with the downfall of the Roman Empire, the setting up of a Jewish world-empire in its place, and (lastly) the government of that world-empire

in justice and peace: but regeneration of heart and character, the purging away of hatred and violence, the bringing amongst men of a new power to live as God would have them live. He knew with a wide universal sympathy that without this new power freedom and joy and the fullness of life were impossible for humanity.

Therefore Christ drew in upon Himself, in self-chosen sacrificial suffering, the weight and malignancy of the hatred around Him. And He died, not for His own nation only, as good Jewish patriots would have had Him die, but for all mankind. He died for all men a death of atonement: and He died that death as the most—the only—practical and concrete method by which He might bring amongst men the Kingdom of God, whose one law is God's Will and Purpose of freedom and love.

It may help to render the attitude of Christ to these things more easily comprehensible to our minds if we take the analogy of the condition of India in 1924. In September of that year Mr Gandhi, the adored national leader, who for many years had worked by every means in his power for the liberation of his country and for the purging away of the national sin constituted by the ill-treatment of the outcastes (he had worked, that is, for freedom and love in this sphere), became convinced that progress towards the free and united India which he desired was impossible until a vast mass of hatred should be cleared from the way. Liberty and unity were, in his view, definitely precluded for India by the growing bitterness of the relationships between the Hindus and the

Mohammedans. The political problem, which had loomed so large in his thought and work, and the social problem also of Untouchability, became in his view not only secondary, but even irrelevant, until the moral problem of hatred between Hindus and Mohammedans could be solved. Political and social questions must for the time being be shelved, because the need of moral regeneration was so great and pressing that unless that need could be met no progress of any kind could be achieved. Thus it came about that Mr Gandhi took upon himself the famous three weeks' fast, in order that, through suffering willingly undergone by a representative Indian, India might be purged from a sin which was destroying her life at its roots. The fast brought a new spirit into existence, which rendered possible, for a brief time at least, a real overcoming of the sin of Hindu-Mohammedan enmity.

Mr Gandhi's action was redemptive and atoning —to compare small things with great—in somewhat the same sense that Christ's death was redemptive and atoning. In both cases there was the clear vision that the greatest of all needs was that of moral regeneration. In the one case the Indian patriot subordinated his loyalties as a Hindu (thereby coming actively under the displeasure of a powerful section of his fellow-Hindus) to his loyalties as an Indian. In the other case the Patriot of Humanity subordinated His loyalties as a Jew to His loyalties as a citizen of the whole world, thereby estranging His fellow-countrymen. In the one case the Representative Indian, perceiving freedom and unity to be impossible without moral regeneration, left politics and social service for the time being

aside in his work for India, and concentrated upon the conquest of sin. In the other case the Representative Man, knowing freedom and love to be impossible without moral regeneration, gave Himself for all humanity, that all sin everywhere might be overcome.

Christ's Method in the Conquest of Evil

Before passing on it will be useful to consider one concrete case of the manner in which Christ approached the problem of the conquest of evil.

He had amongst the smaller inner circle of His disciples one man who was clearly a convinced and enthusiastic nationalist, since, in order to force his Master's hand, and to make Him declare Himself at last that political Messiah whom God (in this man's view) had obviously intended Him to be, he was willing to go to the extreme length of handing Jesus over to the authorities as an intending leader of insurrection, *i.e.* as being that which Jesus Himself refused to be, but which His followers, including this Judas, wished Him to be. In addition to this unscrupulous nationalism Judas had other characteristics which made him alien to the spirit of his Master. He was a man of materialistic spirit, whereas Jesus cared nothing for money. He was a shrewd business-man. He was avaricious. He was a thief.

In other words this man, one who had lived for years in the closest contact with Christ, represented two tendencies which to the mind of Christ were essentially and disastrously evil—the tendency to hatred, and the tendency to materialism.

Here was a concrete case, close to the life of Christ, of glaring and heinous Evil, demanding urgently some drastic process of moral cleansing, threatening (and as the sequel showed it was no empty threat) defeat to the Good with which it was in contact unless some method of restraint could speedily be found.

Christ unquestionably saw far into the mind of Judas, and divined to what lengths he was prepared to go in order to gratify his nationalism and his love of money. In defence of the Kingdom which He had come to found would not Christ have been justified at least in banishing Judas from His company, if not in rendering him totally innocuous for the future ?

Yet we do not find that Christ even reproached or condemned Judas for his treachery and dishonesty. He kept the miscreant closely in His company up to the end, in spite of the terrible risk which such a course meant. He gave him the full benefit of His own friendship, His fellowship, and His love—factors which, as a hundred instances had proved, were of immense and supernatural power for the overcoming of evil of all kinds, both physical and moral : but which in this case ultimately failed to reform Judas.[1] In addition to this Christ gave His unworthy disciple complete liberty. Judas had every chance of reformation and regeneration ; but he was not forced to reform himself. He was given liberty not only to make or mar his own soul and

[1] It is scarcely needful to point out that Christ's method of attacking evil was not that of eliminating the sinner, but of winning him to a love of truth and purity by the sovereign power of friendship.

his own destiny, but to compromise his Master's work, and at the end even to bring that work to what seemed utter failure, and to cause his Master's death.

There could be no more striking instance of what the following of God's purpose of freedom and love meant to Christ in His dealings with an individual soul. It meant an unwearying patience, an unfailing love, a perpetual endeavour to win the man from his sin; but it meant at the same time that God's work in Christ, God's life in Christ, handed itself over bound hand and foot (as it were) into the grasp of the evil in the world, as personified in this one evil soul, to which complete liberty was given not merely to reject God and to ruin itself through the deliberate choice of evil instead of good, but even to lay violent hands on God's own life and purpose in Christ.

It is clear from the study of this one concrete case, that the meaning of God's purpose of freedom and love is something at once far deeper and far more hazardous than men as yet comprehend. It has, moreover, become evident once more that God does not stand aloof, outside of His processes, watching with a detached interest the manner in which they affect His creatures (as a scientist, for instance, might watch the result of an experiment upon a dog), but that He Himself comes into the heart of the process, bearing in His own nature its weight and bitterness, submitting Himself to the frustration and the agony which inevitably accompany it.

Freedom and love meant to God Judas and the Cross.

The Ideals of the Kingdom of God

Such then was the setting in which the Life of God was lived amongst men, the Revelation of God's purpose and will shown to men, the Incarnation of God granted to men. Such also, in brief review, were the problems faced by God in Christ (problems astonishingly modern), and the manner of their solution as practically laid down in the example of Christ.

It behoves us now to consider shortly the ideals of that Kingdom of God whose world-wide patriotism superseded in the mind of Christ all sectional patriotism—that universal political entity (for the Kingdom was in the highest sense to be a political entity) for which He lived and died.

It is to be remembered in the first place that the ideals behind the Kingdom are those of Freedom and Love, which we have come to recognise as the principles governing God's work of creation from the beginning, and as the principles governing Christ's contact with the problems and the personalities around Him. The Kingdom is an association, political in the highest sense, social in the highest sense, religious in the highest sense, in which God works in fellowship with man, and man works in fellowship with God and man, in a spirit of freedom and love.

In the second place, it must be recognised that Christ speaks continually of the Kingdom in the language of human family-life. He tells men far more frequently that God is their Father than that God is their King. He bids them become as simple and trustful in spirit as little children, so that they

may live in the world, and in the Kingdom of God, as happy little ones, sure of their parents' love and care, live in a perfect human home. His parables, His 'stories of the Kingdom,' although they are drawn from many spheres of life, and although they picture God occasionally as a Ruler, picture Him more frequently and far more graphically as a Father, and show the citizens of the Kingdom most characteristically in the relations of family-life, as sons or neighbours. Christ's ideal for society, as expressed in His teaching of the Kingdom, is a family-ideal. He thinks of the future world-community as a great home-life for all humanity—"a world-family in which each child has freedom and lives in fellowship with his brethren and with his Father; where justice is sought and established through patient love and forgiveness, enduring the wrong rather than retaliating; where men strive neither for wealth nor for mastery, but for positions of service; where there is true co-operation, all seeking by love to serve one another." [1]

It seems, in short, as though Christ recognised the immense and decisive influence which the development of the family, from the earliest beginnings of mother-love, has had upon the upbuilding of humanity from the brute: as though He perceived the spiritual meaning and purpose in that great fact: and hence deliberately taught to men that the true spirit of family love and family loyalty, and the freedom which in a perfect family is given to each member to go his own way and develop his own powers—factors so infinitely old in the history of the race, and yet so continually discredited and

[1] Hodgkin, *The Way of Jesus*, p. 64.

forgotten—are still the only means by which genuine progress can be secured. He went back to this oldest of all institutions, hallowed it with the divine sanction and with the teaching that it reflects God's own nature and God's own method of working in creation; and then, by a vast sweep of inspired imagination, showed to all ages that only as the true spirit of this infinitely ancient thing is regained, and expanded so as to include all humanity, and only as God is recognised as the head of the whole world-family, can mankind go forward to the glorious future which God would have it attain.

For Christ the divine purpose of freedom and love expresses itself on the one hand in the divine Fatherhood—the fact that God treats all men with the love of a father for his child, with true family affection, loving the criminal, the rebellious, the ungrateful just as a perfect human father would love and bear with and train a ne'er-do-weel son, although in reality the human fatherhood is only a dim and faint reflection of the divine fatherhood.

On the other hand, the divine purpose of freedom and love expresses itself for Christ in a state of society marked by the joy, the loving fellowship, the forgiveness, the patience, which in a perfect human family mark the relationships of the members of that family towards one another.

No race hatreds, no national animosities, no class conflicts, no personal jealousies and selfishnesses would, it is obvious, have a chance of survival within a human society in which this true family feeling, founded and built up on love for the Father God, should subsist and should govern the mutual intercourse of all the members of that society. No

matter how wide its confines might be—and in Christ's thought the whole earth was to be the Kingdom of God—freedom and love, derived from the divine freedom and love held out so generously to men, must control every contact of every individual and every group with every other individual and every other group all the world over.

This, then, is Christ's ideal of the Kingdom of God—the divine family of all mankind under God—the brotherhood of all men as the children of the one Heavenly Father. It carries with it the ideal character for the citizens of the Kingdom, as set forth by Christ in a series of wonderful parables. That character is to be marked by simplicity, fidelity, humility, unselfishness, devotion, and self-sacrifice for the sake of others. Above all, the citizen of the Kingdom is to show an active kindliness and love towards all who are in distress.

It is plain that such an ideal for the life of humanity as that embodied in Christ's ideal of the Kingdom of God demands for its realisation a radical transformation of human nature itself; and such a transformation Christ indeed called for, and that in no uncertain tones. He bade men forsake all that men usually regard as making life worth living. He bade them give up the old motives of action, the desire of power or honour or wealth. He bade them turn from these worldly concerns with a genuine revolution of their innermost nature—that Change of Ideals, which (as we have already noticed) is inadequately translated by the word Repentance in our New Testament.

In Christ's thought the Change of Ideals which must precede true membership in the Kingdom of

God—which to Him means citizenship of the future world-commonwealth of humanity—is an awakening of the spirit of man to the existence of a deeper realm of reality in the environment of man's life than any whose being he has yet realised. It is an awakening to God and to the Will of God. It is the placing of the soul consciously in harmony with God's Will and Purpose for the world. It is the acceptance by the individual soul of God's gifts of love and freedom. It is the entrance into the unseen realm which includes all men of every age and land who have lived as the children of God in the world, with no sectional allegiance marring their service of all humanity. It is the free turning away from all narrowness and all pride into the eternal bondage of love for God and for humanity—the love which suffers joyfully the worst which hatred and evil can do to it, because it knows that to suffer on the side of God is better than to triumph on the side of bigotry and hatred.

The Spiritual Kingship of God

The Kingdom of God is an unseen entity—as Christ said, 'it is within you,' 'it cometh not with observation.' It is a spiritual realm, and yet in the highest sense it is a political and a social union also. It is a State, whose citizens own allegiance not to any earthly potentate or ecclesiastic, nor to any codified and formulated legal system, but to the God who was incarnate in Jesus Christ, and to the law which is His Will, as shown in Christ's life for freedom and love. Hence the Kingdom of God is for ever realised (inasmuch as one single heart on

earth is living in that allegiance), and at the same time is for ever still to be realised, in some future when all men shall willingly have given themselves —with all that they have and are—to that allegiance. Its citizens for ever look backward to the perfect example of Christ upon earth, forward to the full realisation of God's Will upon earth, and inward to the Spirit of Christ speaking in their hearts and guiding them that they may fulfil God's Will and solve aright each new problem of the Kingdom as it arises.

For the Kingship of God is not a mere historical phenomenon in the distant past, nor a far-off divine event in the yet more distant future, but an inward and spiritual presence to be realised in every life lived, however feebly, for the Kingdom. This it is which makes the certainty absolute that, however dark the prospects of the Kingdom may appear in any given epoch, and however few there may seem to be who rightly comprehend and live by the Will of God, yet some day the Kingdom must come fully and entirely, and for all humanity. For God did not merely push off the movement of the Kingdom across the dark ocean of the world's history, and then (as it were) go round to the other shore, in order to receive it if perchance the frail vessel should sail safely across. Instead, He stripped Himself of His power and entered the vessel with us, as Christ Incarnated, crucified and glorified: as the ever-living, ever-active Spirit indwelling, suffering with, guiding, inspiring humanity.

If all we could do were to look backward to an immortal Example, or forward to an ultimate consummation of God's Will for the world, we might

well despair, challenging the justice of the whole, and declaring that the burden laid upon the pioneers of the Kingdom is too heavy for mortal flesh to bear. But, instead, we have the knowledge of the Spirit of God which indwells humanity, bearing the worst in us, supporting our weakness, sorrowing and rejoicing in us, spurring mankind irresistibly forward —as from the beginning—for the fulfilment of the divine Will of freedom and love.

"He has not left us desolate; for He has come unto us."

Chapter V

THE INDWELLING SPIRIT

The Creative Force working in History

At the conclusion of the last chapter we saw how, in order to bring about the realisation upon earth of the ideals of the Kingdom of God—those ideals which are God's Will of freedom and love for humanity—Christ not only lived the life of the Kingdom amongst men, not only taught to men the nature of the Kingdom, not only died for the Kingdom and for the bringing of men into the Kingdom, but also taught men to look inward to the working of the Divine Spirit in their own hearts, which should lead them unfailingly to truth and righteousness, and to citizenship in the Kingdom.

We have already, in previous chapters, noticed several aspects of the indwelling spiritual activity of God in the life of the race. The French philosopher Bergson is the most noteworthy modern representative of a school of thought which thinks of the whole of humanity, and indeed the whole of life, as the expression of an indwelling creative 'urge,' clothing itself in organised materiality. There is to be seen, throughout the history of the race, the self-expression of this indwelling power, not merely in the creation of higher and more complex organisms, but also, when the human stage has been reached, in the sustained impulse towards

higher and more perfect forms of action and association—in other words, in what we have called the working of the divine Will for freedom and love. There is something in the very heart of humanity, and therefore in every human heart, which will not be bound down by the blind operation of primitive bestial instinct, but is for ever spurring mankind towards wider and wider integration on the one hand, and towards more complete self-fulfilment in freedom on the other. We have already noticed this twofold impulse behind history in a variety of aspects. The first great upbuilding of European civilisation, in the classical epoch, proceeded from primitive tribalism, through the particularist phase of the city-state, to the universal Empire of Alexander and of Rome. Freedom went forward (at least for a time) hand-in-hand with this vast process of integration. The primitive tribal kingships, with their assemblies of all free citizens, became the direct democracy of the city-state, and the world-citizenship of the great days of Rome, safeguarded by the magnificent defensive system of Roman law. Then came disaster under a fresh irruption of primitive tribalism ; but the eternal drive towards freedom and integration was not to be denied. On the one hand came the mediæval universalism, and on the other the upbuilding of national freedoms and of systems of representative government—as expressing the revolt of the free spirit of man against the denial of freedom in feudalism (which was the crystallisation of primitive tribalism brought about through the stabilising influence of the relics of Roman solidarity) and in despotism (which came into being as the best defence against feudalism,

and as the best measure of obtaining the newly desired national freedom). In the modern age we have marked the over-expression of the demand for freedom, in the fierce excesses of aggressive nationalism—excesses which have been rendered only more bitter by the advent of modern democracy; but we have also noticed the foreshadowing of a new universalism, which is to be seen, for instance, in the upbuilding of the British Family of Nations, in the development of the United States, and (very recently) in the creation of the League of Nations.

Thus we have come to recognise a universal and undying drive throughout the history of humanity, a drive towards deeper and fuller freedom on the one hand, and towards wider and closer integration on the other. It is as though mankind were inspired by an irresistible impulse both to set free and to draw close. That impulse has often expressed itself blindly and destructively. Modern nationalism liberates a certain aggregation of humanity at the expense of all wider association and frequently of individual liberty also. A Napoleon represents the impulse to integration running mad. But, with many reverses—as always in God's process of evolution, which from the beginning has worked by the method of trial and error—progress has been steady and sustained. The barbarian invasions delayed humanity for a thousand years and more: each one of the long series of modern nationalist wars has set back the clock of true civilisation. Yet the indwelling urge never wearies. The ground lost is made up again; and the very failure and tragedy of the past gives a new strength to the future. The

race seems almost instinctively to learn from experience. Still, as during the long stages of organic evolution, the slow process of trial and error gives the power to avoid in the future the danger-point which has proved disastrous in the past.

It may perhaps be objected that it is a far cry from mother-love, in the pre-human stages of racial development, to the building of the modern League of Nations. Is there any justification for regarding such world-wide forms of integration as connected in any way with the urge towards love ? The answer to such a question is to be found in the fact that the endeavour after full human brotherhood, which demands the subordination of all sectional and particularist interests to the good of all mankind, proceeds *pari passu* with an active sympathy for those in distress, and with a positive endeavour to bring about their deliverance from suffering and the improvement of their conditions of life. Thus it is that the men who are striving for the effective realisation of the League of Nations are the very men who in their own lands are endeavouring to break down ignorance and prejudice, to improve the lot of the downtrodden, and to sweep away glaring social wrongs : whilst with regard to other lands they are eager to remove slavery, exploitation and injustice of every kind. That this is so may be seen in the fact that from the beginning of its career the League of Nations has found that one of the most important and the most generally recognised of its functions is the establishment of a universal guarantee against certain forms of vice and injustice. The element in human nature which demands ever wider integra-

tion of humanity, and ever deeper application of the principle of the brotherhood of all mankind, is the element also which demands the prevention of the white slave-traffic, the regulation of the sale of opium, the prevention of the ill-treatment of child-races, the protection of labour from exploitation, and so forth. The urge towards love expresses itself not only in the building-up of world-wide brotherhood, and in the striving for the universal integration of humanity, but also in the helping and uplifting of the individual citizen of the world who is suffering from want, injustice, ignorance, exploitation, to whatever race, colour or class he may belong.

Thus in the history both of the distant past and of contemporary times, we see the working of the divine Spirit—the expression of God's will and purpose, which is freedom and love for humanity.

But we may perceive the same spirit working, if we have eyes to see it with, in every human soul around us. There is in every man a divine element, a spark of the divine nature, working for freedom and love, working for the fulfilment of God's purposes, working for the creation of a life and character resembling in some measure the life and character of Jesus Christ.

The Instance of Shakespeare

It will be worth our while to glance briefly at the manner in which this Indwelling Spirit expressed itself in a supremely great soul, and a soul of whose inner life and development we have, through his writings, fuller records than in the case of any other human soul.

Judged by superficial standards Shakespeare is the least religious of poets. The great Greek dramatists were continually occupied with themes concerning the relationships between the human and the divine. Shakespeare hardly uses the name of God except in curses or the most conventional of *clichés*. He only occasionally makes reference to the Bible literature, and such references, when they are made, are clearly but imperfectly recalled memories from a distant past. The great ecclesiastics who appear in his historical plays are generally profoundly worldly and unspiritual. In *Hamlet* the Church, in the shape of the miserable priest who refuses Ophelia decent burial, and of the system which that priest represents, is held up to a scorn more bitter and a condemnation more fierce than has perhaps ever, either before or since, been poured upon her. The words are few, but their effect is terrific. The best of Shakespeare's priests is perhaps the ' comfortable friar ' in *Romeo and Juliet*, and he is introduced not because he is a man of religion, but because he provides a convenient method of bringing about the secret marriage, and coping with the consequences of that marriage. There are traces in many Shakespearean plays of a dark pagan fatalism, which did not indeed belong to Shakespeare's deeper self, but which seems to have invaded his mind with almost irresistible power during periods of depression and despair. Such fatalism is in itself a frank denial of religion. Finally, it is quite common for Shakespeare (as for his contemporaries) to bring upon the stage the gods and goddesses of the ancient pagan world, in a manner which makes us

pause and wonder for a moment whether we are reading the works of a poet who belongs to the Christian era at all.

Even in his deepest moments of insight into the truth of things and into the meaning of human life, Shakespeare cared so little for the warring creeds and the rising sectarianism of his day that men can still argue, and with an imposing show of argument on either side, as to whether he was himself a Catholic or a Protestant.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that Shakespeare belongs to the Renaissance, and is therefore profoundly secular in his outlook. He is the greatest and the last of the great Renaissance figures. He stands in the glow of a setting sun, on a solitary crag jutting forward into the abyss wherein the body of Europe is torn and the soul of Europe blasted by the Wars of Religion. Being a man of the Renaissance, he is also fundamentally a humanist, one who is interested above all else in the achievements of man, and in the problems of man's life and man's character. He has no place in his cosmos for transcendental musings and theorisings. Conventional religion scarcely touches him at all.

Thus, if there are to be seen in Shakespeare, as there most emphatically are, the signs of the working of the divine Spirit, that fact is not to be put down to any simple faith in God, any deliberate self-subordination to God's Will, any conscious desire for memberhip in the Kingdom of God. If these religious aspirations existed in Shakespeare's soul, he—the poet above all others with the most wide and magnificent powers of self-expression—

hid them with entire effectiveness all through his long and richly varied literary career. Shakespeare was in no ordinary sense of the word a man of religion. He was a profoundly secular poet.

Yet, whilst all this is true, it is impossible to rise from a systematic reading-through of the works of Shakespeare without the conviction that we have been in contact with a soul which has fought its way through darkness and tragedy, not indeed to any system of belief that can be formulated in a cut-and-dried religious creed, but to an almost instinctive and automatic expression of the divine working in the world—and to an expression which can only, we feel, have come to him through the illumination of the divine Spirit in a heart striving honestly to reach the truth of things.

In this connection the first thing to notice is that Shakespeare subordinates all else to his interest in, and his study of, human character. To him character is everything. Plot matters little—matters so little that this supreme poet is frequently grossly careless in the construction and handling of his fables (as, for instance, in *The Winter's Tale*), and has no objection to repeating over and over again the same stock expedients for forwarding a plot, for instance the expedient of mistaken identity, or that of the woman in boy's clothes. Shakespeare seems to rough-hew his plots in a careless impatience to get to his main business —that of drawing in, with matchless creative artistry, the characters of his men and women.

With regard to these characters, we notice a steady development as the mind of Shakespeare grows towards maturity. At first, in the earlier

comedies, his men and women are brilliant, but also somewhat superficial. Then, in the English historical plays, we have grandeur and majesty, weakness and villainy, all pictured with a faithful realism—these plays are a picture, drawn with supreme artistic skill, of the realities of the court-life with which Shakespeare was already familiar. The phase ends with the bitingly ironical portrait of King Henry V, the 'successful groundling,' who spurns aside his old friends, and so breaks their hearts, in order to stabilise his new dignities.

Shakespeare has already perceived the hollowness and worthlessness of that worldly brilliance and worldly success which so captivated the imagination of the men of his Renaissance age. He drives home the lesson, a few months later, in the pæan of praise which he sings to the simple forest life in *As You Like It*.

But then comes a period of many years during which the mind of the great poet is overwhelmed by a crushing realisation of the meaning of sin and evil. He paints picture after picture, in the great tragedies, of the degeneration of noble and admirable character under the influence of now this now that blinding and paralysing passion. To adopt the old theological language this representative Seer of the whole human race has been brought under deep conviction of sin, both for himself (for it has been truly observed that in painting each of his great tragic heroes Shakespeare paints a portrait of what he knows might happen to himself), and for humanity as a whole. He has seen a vision of the awful depths of hell; and in this mood he draws his portraits of great men who have yielded

to the temptation to choose evil instead of good, to do evil that good may come, to gratify some beast-instinct: and who have thus been corrupted and destroyed. Pride, ambition, jealousy, ingratitude, sloth, luxurious self-indulgence, and a host of other sins, pass before our eyes in a dark procession. We behold with deepening horror the fearful ravages which such evil causes in the lives which it affects—in innocent as well as guilty lives (for Shakespeare believes in freedom, and he knows that the last and most terrible problem of freedom lies in the fact that freedom carries with it the opportunity for our wrecking the lives of others through our own misuse of our freedom). Again and again the very portals of hell are thrown open before us; and we bear unconscious testimony to the horror of that vision of sin which the poet had seen by exclaiming, "Surely no being so wholly evil as Claudius, as Iago, as Regan, as Goneril, as Angelo, as Lady Macbeth, as Timon's friends, could ever possibly exist."

No sermon ever preached showed forth the black and terrible reality of sin as *Othello* shows it, or *King Lear*, or *Macbeth*. The incarnation of evil in Iago, Goneril, Lady Macbeth: the corruption through sin of Othello, Macbeth, Timon, Antony, Coriolanus: the fearful consequences of their sin upon themselves and others—these things throw up the dark side of human nature in a lurid glare such as has never before or since been cast upon it.

But the mind of Shakespeare does not stop here, or we might well despair of humanity altogether. Slowly, but surely, his vision begins to pierce through the dark pall of the world's evil. He

begins, at first very dimly, and then more and more clearly, to see past the blackness of sin to the only force in the world that can conquer sin—the irresistible force of redeeming and self-sacrificing love. Even when he is held prisoner in the inner stronghold of despair he can hint at the working of this love. Hamlet has a half-formed, but still a real and powerful longing—at any rate at one point—to save at any cost his guilty mother from her sin. Isabella pleads for the life of the devilish Angelo. Desdemona strives with her dying breath to save from the consequences of his sin the husband to whom she has given everything, and who in requital has murdered her. Cordelia dies that she may save the wretched crazy father who has spurned her from his presence. Kent slaves in a mean disguise to serve the infatuated king who has banished him. Volumnia goes forth with her life in her hand to save Rome, and to conquer her son's sin through her willingness to sacrifice herself.

Thus even in his period of deepest gloom, when the weight and heinousness of sin lay heaviest on his soul, Shakespeare saw through the sin to the only force which can conquer sin,

Coriolanus, the last of the great tragedies, stands apart from the others in that here we are shown sin actually quelled by redeeming love. Othello, Iago, Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Claudius, Regan, Edmund, Goneril, Timon, Antony, and many others, all perish in their sins, and their souls, we feel, are lost. But Coriolanus, though he has sinned as deeply as any but the pure incarnations of evil—Iago, Lady Macbeth, Regan, Goneril, Edmund—at last repents of the wrong which he

had intended. He repents because of his mother's love, which dares all to save him and his victims from his final deadliest sin. He repents, and though the consequence of his repentance is his death, yet we feel that his soul is saved; again, to use the old theological language, 'he is plucked as a brand from the burning.'

Thus we are led forward to Shakespeare's last period—in some ways the greatest period of all—the period of the wonderful romances, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*. Here we see sin pictured no less grimly and terribly than in the great tragedies. There is indeed nowhere else in Shakespeare a portrayal of evil anywhere near so powerful as that in the fourth act of *Pericles*. But in these romances Shakespeare is at last seeing clearly through the sin to the redemption beyond. The saving power is more than hinted at—it is shown in full and perfect operation, bringing the sinner to repentance and saving him into a new life. Not only so, but we are shown the eternal hopefulness of youth, and its power to build a new world out of the wreckage of the dark and sin-stained past. In *Pericles* we have an astonishing picture of innocence and purity bearding filthy and bestial sin in its very lair, and coming forth victorious by the inherent supremacy of good, even defenceless good, over the might of evil. In *The Winter's Tale* we have repentance after sin in Leontes, forgiving love in Hermione, the golden promise of youth and joy in the idyllic wooing of Florizel and Perdita. In *Cymbeline* we have Imogen, the most perfect of all Shakespeare's heroines (and how far above his heroes are his

heroines !). Her love is staunch and unfaltering for the husband who has grossly wronged her. At last, after deep repentance, he is saved through this steadfast love of hers ; and the beauty and joy of that saving is perhaps the highest achievement of all Shakespeare's art. In *The Tempest* we have again the promise of light after gloom in the young love of Ferdinand and Miranda, whilst in Prospero we see personified an all-powerful and beneficent intelligence which has been greatly wronged, but which works for the cancelling of sin in the penitent wrongdoer, and for his regeneration through the power of love and forgiveness.

Thus, after the long dark period of despair, during which he had been all but crushed under the realisation of the meaning of sin, this great and far-sighted and fundamentally honest interpreter of the spirit of man has come at last to hope—to no facile optimism which ignores the reality of evil, but to a deep and matchlessly-expressed conviction that sin *can* be conquered, that there is one, and only one thing, which can conquer it—the union of repentance in the sinner with love, forgiveness and redemptive purpose in the one whom the sin has chiefly wronged.

Yet, so far as we can see, this conviction, this new hopefulness which filled Shakespeare's later years, and which renewed his genius with a fund of joy and beauty quite unparalleled in his earlier work, was quite unconnected with any theological or transcendental considerations of any kind whatsoever. Like a true child of the Renaissance this greatest of all poets remained to the end so intensely interested in and concerned with the facts and

nature of humanity, that he could find no leisure to turn his eyes to anything beyond this world. He preserves a stalwart yet respectful detachment from all that is generally called religion. Though his study of mankind, and of the depths and heights in the human soul, has brought him to conclusions regarding the necessity, the possibility, and the method of redemption which we feel to be profoundly Christian, yet he has reached those conclusions merely by the steady and faithful following of the light burning within him—the Spirit which impelled him to love of his kind and to a yearning to set man free from all that darkens and oppresses human life. He owes, so far as we may tell, little or nothing to creed, dogma, sacrament, the practice of devotion, or to any other of the so-called vehicles and sanctions of religion.

In short, we have in Shakespeare an outstanding instance of the '*anima naturaliter Christiana*,' of the soul which reaches the truth—or a great measure of the truth—not by revelation or instruction from without, but by the loyal following of the Spirit within. Without any equipment of *a priori* conceptions about the universe, with scarcely a vestige (so far as we can tell) of faith in God or in any transcendental reality except a vague but dominant moral law, this supreme creative artist (who has been well called 'the poet who, next to God, created most') is led through his deep questionings regarding the heart of man and the springs of human action and character into a fundamentally Christian attitude towards the world and towards the life of man in the world. He recognises with overwhelming power the terrible reality

of the evil will in man. He faces sin and the results of sin with the resolution not to bate one jot of the horror of these fearful realities. Yet his searchings drive him resistlessly forward beyond the view of sin to the belief in and the portrayal of redeeming love, and of the regeneration and the joy which such love brings to the sin-laden, penitent wrongdoer.

We find in Shakespeare a sovereign illustration, in a representative man—a man who belongs to all ages and all lands—of the fact that there is in men a Light, an Indwelling Spirit of truth; and that, if they follow the light faithfully and loyally, men will come to the knowledge of the truth, to the truth which is freedom and love for all mankind; for they will behold 'the ocean of light and love which flows over the ocean of darkness and death.' By following the Light faithfully this great Seer came at length, not to any credal formulation of belief in transcendental reality, but to the Truth which is for ever redemptive love working through human hearts, by the way of freedom, for the Kingdom of God.

Instances from India

But it may be objected that Shakespeare, however little he may show of the influence upon his mind and writings of orthodox Christianity, had at least been brought up in a Christian environment, and in an age when it was incumbent upon everyone to go to Church, whether they believed in religion or not. Is it not natural, then, that Christian thought upon the realities of life and

conduct should have made a profound, if perhaps largely unconscious, impression upon the pre-eminently receptive and retentive mind of the poet? Would his work show the same almost automatic gravitation towards the truth of redemption if he had been brought up in a non-Christian environment? In answer to this question it is perhaps only needful to remark how in two great and entirely distinct epochs of deep religious thought and search, coming at the climax of two long processes of religious development—viz. that of the ancient pagan world, and that of Indian religion and philosophy—there has emerged quite independently of any connection with Christianity, and as it were from the inner heart of sin-laden and salvation-yearning humanity, a witness to the truth of redemption through penitence, grace and love.

The great and widespread development of mystery-religions which offered to the ancient world, shortly before and shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, a way of salvation through devotion and expiation and the outpouring of divine grace: and, on the other hand, the rise and great influence of the *bhakti* school of religious thought in India, with its enthusiastic belief in salvation through penitent self-giving to the Divine Lover, alike bear ample evidence to the fact that it is not only within the compass of a Christian environment that the Indwelling Spirit works for freedom and love, meeting the cry of the human soul for deliverance from sin and futility with the assurance that there exists a Soul behind the universe, with Whom the trusting and repentant believer may come into sweet and loving contact.

With regard to the mystery-religions, it will be sufficient to quote the following passage from Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy's *St Paul and the Mystery Religions*.[1] "It is not difficult to give an account of the chief aims of the Mystery Religions. They may be said to offer salvation to those who have been duly initiated. . . . The element prized above all others in salvation is the assurance of a life which death cannot quench, a victorious immortality. This boon is reached by the process of regeneration. A genuinely Divine life is imparted to the initiate."

With regard to the *bhakti* school of Indian religious thought the following quotations may be given:—

> If, jesting, I irreverence showed to Thee,
> At play, reposing, sitting, or at meals,
> Alone, O sinless One, or with my friends,
> Forgive my error, O Thou boundless One.
>
> Therefore I fall before Thee; with my body
> I worship as is fitting; bless Thou me.
> As father with the son, as friend with friend,
> With the beloved as lover, bear with me.[2]

> Thou, Lord of pity, I beseech,
> Come speedily and set me free.
> (Yea, when he hears my piteous speech,
> All eager should Narayan[3] be).
> Lo, in the empty world apart,
> I hearken waiting thy footfall.
> Vitthal,[4] thou father, mother art!
> Thou must not loiter at my call.

[1] See Dougall and Emmet, *The Lord of Thought*, p. 108.
[2] *Bhagavadgita*, xi. 43-44, Mrs Besant's translation.
[3] Vishnu. [4] Another name for Vishnu.

Thou, thou alone art left to me ;
All else, when weighed, is vanity.
Now, Tuka pleads, thy gift of grace complete ;
Now let mine eyes behold thine equal feet.[1]

I long to see thy face,
But ah, in me hath holiness no place.
By thy strength succour me,
So only, only I thy feet may see !
Lost, lost, O God, am I,
Unless thou help me, Tuka,—me who cry.[2]

My mind I cannot steadfast hold ;
My senses wander uncontrolled.
Ah, I have sought and sought for peace
In vain ; for me there's no release.
Now bring I Thee a faith complete,
And lay my life before Thy feet.
Do thou, O God, what seemeth best ;
In Thee, in Thee alone is rest.[3]

O save me, save me, Mightiest,
Save me and set me free.
O let the love that fills my breast
Cling to Thee lovingly.

Grant me to taste how sweet Thou art ;
Grant me but this, I pray,
And never shall my love depart
Or turn from Thee away.[4]

No deeds I've done nor thoughts I've thought ;
Save as Thy servant, I am nought.

[1] *Tuka Ram*, translated by Dr. Macnicol in his *Indian Theism*, p. 123.

[2] *Tuka Ram*, translated in Dr. Macnicol's *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*, p. 64.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Guard me, O God, and O, control
The tumult of my restless soul.

Ah, do not, do not cast on me
The guilt of mine iniquity.

My countless sins, I, Tuka, say,
Upon Thy loving heart I lay.[1]

The Spirit of God in History

It is impossible to read these expressions of ardent faith and trust in the divine, of repentance for sin, and of desire for salvation and for the experience of the divine love, without the conviction that the Indwelling Spirit of God works far and wide through humanity, of whatever race and creed, for the fulfilment of the divine purposes of freedom and love. Wherever on earth there are souls honestly striving after God, there is God's response to their search.

But if this is so, there is a glorious hopefulness for mankind, which, in the ordinary course of affairs, and in our everyday contacts with our fellow-men, we entirely fail to realise. God is not afar and remote, a kind of Oriental Potentate of a God, such as was pictured by Milton in his *Paradise Lost* (it is to the honour of a democratic age that it has ceased to believe in such a God). His Spirit lives in every heart, striving to set free, to grant the full use of spiritual freedom, to draw the soul into realisation of the divine love, to build up in man a character bearing resemblance, however

[1] *Tuka Ram*, translated in Dr Macnicol's *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*, p. 76.

dimly, to the character of Jesus Christ. Men have but to listen, to trust, to obey, and the saving work of the Spirit of God will go forward in their hearts, leading them out into love and freedom and truth.

More than this, if we have a real belief in the operation of the divine Spirit in the hearts of men, we shall go through the world—and look upon the history of the world—with new eyes. We shall realise that in every individual, however mean and sordid he may seem, there is working unceasingly the Spirit of God. There is something in every man, however gross and selfish, to which appeal may be made for the cause of God. There is something which every race, every community, every class of men, have to contribute towards the working out of God's purposes in the world.

With this belief we shall look upon the individual men with whom we are brought in contact, upon alien races and nations and cultures, upon the history of individuals and communities in the past, with the unfailing expectation that in each of these there is to be seen—if we only look hard and long enough—some expression of the workings of the divine Spirit. Everywhere we shall ardently expect to find something of God, some new facet of His revelation of Himself to men. There is not a single person alive now upon earth (we shall remind ourselves) in whom the Indwelling Spirit does not work, and who is not therefore able, given the right opportunity and the right vision in ourselves, to show us something new about the nature of God and His purpose for men. There is not a single race or people which has not corporately been endowed by that Indwelling Spirit with some

divine gift for humanity, some fresh revealing of God's will of freedom and love. There is not a single individual or race about whom we read or teach in history who has not experienced and embodied the workings of that same Spirit: and from the study of whom, if history is written and taught aright, we may not gain for ourselves and give to others some fresh knowledge about God and about His Will of freedom and love.

It is clear that this belief in the Indwelling Spirit will turn the ordinary drab commonplace of existence into a divine adventure. We shall go through the everyday world confident that everywhere, in every man and in every community of men, there are awaiting the discoverer whole new continents of revelation concerning the glory of God and His way of dealing with men. Above all, for the history-teacher will his ordinary work become a splendid adventure. He will go to it each day conscious that he is honoured with the marvellous task and responsibility of showing to his pupils the revelation of God in the men and the nations of the past. He may fail in that task; but he will not fail because he has not had the mind to comprehend the task itself.

Thus the realisation of the fact that the Spirit of God is indwelling humanity turns the world as a whole into a place not of anarchy and despair, but of unfailing optimism: and gives to the history-teacher the most magnificent of all functions and duties.

'The Appeal to the Inward Light'

A recent issue of a periodical devoted to the interests of constructive Christianity contained an article in which reference was made in the following terms to the presence of the Indwelling Spirit of God in human souls: "The Inward Light, or the Voice of God in the soul, can be appealed to, and must be appealed to, if there is to be any great awakening of spiritual life. When the appeal is boldly made, it will be found that men everywhere do recognise that certain things are better than certain other things, that it is worth while to seek the better, and to turn from the worse, even if the way be hard and uncertain." There is here given a description of an important element in the working of the divine Spirit in man: that Spirit expresses itself in the august and mysterious 'moral imperative' which proclaims in men's hearts an ethical law, and sets us certain unalterable standards of value which must be applied in matters of conduct.

But to regard this 'moral imperative' as the sole, or even the main, evidence of the working of the Indwelling Spirit is extremely unsatisfactory. No one can have lived for years in close contact with men of different race and upbringing from his own without realising that there is nothing more difficult and invidious and dangerous than the attempt consistently to apply to others a preconceived set of ethical principles which he himself regards as rigid and axiomatic. The attempt to "appeal to the Inward Light" in the sense used in the quotation given above will almost inevitably

resolve itself into the attempt to win acceptance for, and to enforce, a system of morals which is regarded by the people amongst whom the attempt is being made as foreign, 'Western,' 'materialistic,' and so forth. It is common, for instance, in India for the Englishman's code of good conduct to be severely criticised on the ground that it lays too much emphasis on the rights of property and on the various aspects of public spirit, and much too little emphasis on the rights of personality and on such virtues as humility, meekness, loving-kindness. Yet it will be extremely hard to convince the Englishman that the 'witness of the Inward Light' does not demand strict accuracy in rendering account of moneys received, and an unfaltering refusal to take bribes: whilst from the Indian point of view it will be hard to recognise the Light in a man meticulously honest in these respects, but who at the same time shows himself arrogant and violent.

In other words, the 'appeal to the Light' in the sense intended in the quotation in question can only be made when we are quite sure that we are appealing not to any sectional conception of 'good form' or right conduct, but to the universal ideal of Christ for humanity as a whole—an ideal in which shall be comprehended the moral witness imparted by the working of the Indwelling Spirit to every race and nation. And this certainty it is as yet by no means easy to gain.

Nevertheless it is undoubtedly possible, and even essential, to 'appeal to the Light' in every man, though in a somewhat different sense to that just considered. The Light is more, far more, than a

'moral imperative' directing the human conscience. It is the Spirit of God in man. It is the Living Inward Christ. It is God Himself, ever working in every human heart to build up freedom and love, and a character like the character of Christ. It may be, and it must be, appealed to —by a generous confidence, and a self-sacrificing friendship (Christ's own method), which refuses to be discouraged by rebuffs, disappointments and disillusionments, or even by insults and persecution, but strives loyally and persistently for the saving of the man into freedom and love, so that his true nature may be revealed through the showing forth in his life of the Inward Christ.

But under these circumstances—if this task be faithfully carried forward—the idea of 'appeal' will probably tend to recede into the background. Its place will be taken by the idea of life and work in the world as an unending enterprise of joyful discovery, in which we find God and understand God more and more each day of our lives, through the men whom we meet, and through our study of the records of men and communities in the past. Our task is that of co-operating with God in His endeavour *to shake Himself free into effective Christ-likeness* in the lives of men. We cease perhaps to be so much propagandists recommending our own wares; we become more explorers of the goodness and beauty of God through our contact with humanity, both in past and present (as well as with inanimate nature): and more fellow-workers with God in the great business of redemption and of the founding of the Kingdom.

Thus the fact of the Indwelling Spirit in man is

far more than the presence in the human heart of a voice, a witness, a 'moral imperative.' It is the Living Christ, alike the goal of our race, and our only hope of reaching that goal. It is the End, the Ideal of human life, already immanent in every soul, fully realised in that Life in Galilee and Judæa two thousand years ago, some day to be lived forth by the whole race, when at last the Kingdom shall come amongst all mankind. The Indwelling Spirit is God in man, working from the beginning, long before man was man, and still and for ever working unwearyingly in every human soul, for freedom and love. It is Christ still at work revealing God and redeeming humanity.

Some Corollaries of the Belief in the Indwelling Spirit

(*a*) *With regard to the Nature of Christ.*—It will be well for us to follow briefly one or two of the corollaries of the belief in the Indwelling Spirit.

In a recent issue of an English religious periodical an (Anglo-Catholic) Indian Christian wrote as follows: "The controversy that is raging in England at the present time regarding the Divinity of Christ—the echoes of which have reached our ears even here in India—has no point at all in Indian eyes. It only shows how even the greatest intellects can become slaves to mere words. People have been content to accept the popular conceptions of Divinity and Humanity, and have been trying to pigeon-hole Jesus Christ. . . . Are not all men divine—each in his own degree? Have not we all the sparks of divinity in us? Are we not in the

image of God ? If so, is it not possible to think of the Perfect Man as wholly and completely God ? I . . . am only striving to express in what direction Indian thought is likely to work, when dealing with the central mystery of the Christian faith."

This quotation illustrates the manner in which belief in the Indwelling Spirit of God in human hearts may serve to illuminate what to many is the insoluble and impenetrable mystery (or as it is frequently put nowadays, the fundamental absurdity) of the ancient Christian belief in the Divinity of Christ. *True* humanity is already divine : because true humanity gives unfettered scope to the working of God's Spirit in the human soul for the fulfilment of the divine Purpose of freedom and love. The age-long embittered controversy on the Divinity of Christ rests on a fundamental misconception—the ' pigeon-holing ' of ' humanity ' and ' divinity ' as two utterly and eternally distinct entities, each necessarily dwelling in a water-tight compartment entirely separate from the other, and able to mingle as little as oil and water.

Those who believe in the Indwelling Spirit see that Christ is perfectly divine because He is perfectly human, and perfectly human because He is perfectly divine. Wherever they behold a Christlike act or a Christlike character, they rejoice because once more the beast is conquered in a human heart, because God's life is re-born into the world, because the true man—which is the Inward Christ—has shaken himself free from the bonds of the old beast-nature and has stood erect (even if for a moment only) in the Kingdom of freedom and love, realising God's purpose, revealing

and reincarnating (however feebly) His divine nature.

Thus Christ becomes not only the full and perfect Incarnation and Revelation of God: not only the Master-teacher of humanity in the way of progress and truth: not only the proof that the long labour of creation has reached fruition: not only the founder of the Kingdom of God: not only the Redeemer of men, through His suffering and death, into freedom and love: but the power of God within every soul, striving eternally for the creation of likeness to Himself, and therefore the great and sovereign Hope for every individual, every nation, and every race.

Those who believe in the Indwelling Spirit can realise, in a manner otherwise altogether impossible, the meaning of the phrase 'the fulness of the Godhead in Christ': and therewith the splendour of the Hope which is in Christ for all mankind.

(*b*) *With regard to Personal Immortality*.—Jesus Christ based His assertion of personal immortality, as He based all His teaching, upon the fact of God. The ancient revelation which had been accorded to His race, began with the great words, "In the beginning God." His own new revelation began, continued and ended in God, in the discovery of God's love, in the following of God's will, in the application to all human problems of those eternal principles of love and of freedom which govern God's own relations with the world.

To Christ, with His vivid realisation of God's presence and love, the problem of personal immortality simply did not exist as a problem. God is God, and God loves human souls. These two facts

meant to Christ that death, the annihilator, is vanquished for ever. It is entirely incredible to Him that death or any other thing should have the power of breaking the bond between God and those whom God loves—of robbing God of His friends.

Thus Christ meets the captious and irresponsible questionings of the Sadducees, which were intended to ridicule all belief in immortality, simply by the one uncompromising asseveration, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living'—and the matter was disposed off for good and all to everyone who should strive to think Christ's thoughts about God and about humanity, and to test in personal experience that sovereign fact of God's love, which was for Christ the solution of all problems in this world and out of it. The love between the trusting human soul and God is something far deeper and more real than death—something which can no more be touched by death than wireless waves can be hindered by the darkness of night. More than this, death was to Him a gateway leading into the life of full knowledge of God beyond the grave.

Later, to the followers of Christ left alone in a hostile world, their Master crucified, there came the great and mysterious experience of continued fellowship and intercourse with that Master, as a risen, death-vanquishing, omnipotent Spirit. They learnt, with a power that sent them forth to conquer the world for Christ, the meaning of His words, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life.' They learnt to forget themselves in a great cause. Above all, they discovered that 'to me to live is Christ,' and therefore that death is gain, as bringing the soul into unfettered communion with Christ. Eternal

life, in the love and abiding friendship of the Christ-like God, became to them, not merely something to be acquired beyond death, but a present possession ; so that immortality began here and now, and was a continuous experience in this world and beyond death, death being merely a glad release into the 'fulness of the knowledge of Christ.'

The belief in the Indwelling Spirit of God in human souls, working for freedom and love, and for the re-living in man, however feebly, of the character of Christ—that perfect pattern of simplicity, humility, courage, self-sacrificing love—leads us to perceive that here and now in the world the life and being of God Himself may flame up in human lives, giving them thereby the very essence of immortality. Every man has in him the eternal and undying Spirit. If he will permit that Spirit to do its work for God in his soul, then he lives in eternity already, not alone through communion with God and through the realisation of God's friendship and grace, but because he has in himself the life of God, springing up to all eternity.

He who has thus come to a knowledge of the Indwelling Spirit rejoices as he sees this or that evidence of Christlikeness in his friends. For he knows that such Christlikeness (however inadequate and dim it may seem) is the life of God in them, is an eternal element in their being. And when they pass beyond the veil of death, he knows that they live in God, and that in communion with God he has communion with those who live for ever in God.

To a full belief in immortality these three elements will probably be found to be essential—the realisation in living personal experience of the

Friendship of God, so that the soul cries out with the most absolute conviction, 'Nothing can rob God of His friends: this love and fellowship must by their very nature be eternal': the realisation in personal experience that God, the Christlike God, the Christ-God, is Himself, not merely in the future, but here and now, the Resurrection and the Life eternal: the realisation that the Indwelling Spirit, working for freedom and love and Christ-likeness, is in itself a divine and eternal thing, not merely the earnest of immortality, but the present fact of immortality.

All these three elements combine to show us that Eternal Life is essentially a present and practical fact in this world.

(*c*) *With regard to the Conception of the Nature of God and Man.*—In the chapter on 'Faith in Christ' in his great work on *Grace and Personality*, Professor Oman says, "The personality of God, to be of any consequence to faith, must appear in a fellowship which deals with our whole nature by moral means and for moral ends. . . . If it is the essential nature of God to have this personal relation to His children, He could be manifested only in a life perfectly lived among men, through a perfect relation to Himself."

Our modern study of and enthusiasm for the Incarnation (for we shall not get far, either towards our needed religious reawakening or towards our conception of the high function and dignity of the history-teacher, without a definite and profound enthusiasm for the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ) must be the study of and the enthusiasm for a Personality—a living and breathing Man,

whose mind and will worked by the same psychological processes which govern the operation of our own minds and wills: but a Personality which achieved for all time the ideal relationship between God and man and between man and man. That dual relationship, which is yet one, is summed up for ever in the two great statements of Christ's most spiritually-minded disciple "God is love," and "Love one another as I—that is Christ—have loved you." *God* is love—the highest expression of personality. *Men* must love each other as God in Christ loved them.

As we come to realise thus the meaning of the Incarnation, we shall realise also the wonderful possibilities and the infinite value of merely 'average' human personality. We shall know that the purpose of God in the world is the production of Christlike men and women, and that the Indwelling Spirit is working in every heart for the fulfilment of that divine purpose. For God has not stultified His whole process of creation, from its first beginnings, by condemning men inexorably and eternally to evil. On the contrary, He has put in every man the divine capacity to become like Himself—the capacity to love as Christ loved (for so Christ Himself commanded), the capacity to suffer as selflessly for others, to bear as patiently with folly and treachery, to face as dauntlessly the certainty of final failure and defeat.

Thus the joyful belief in the Incarnation of God in Christ, coupled with the joyful belief in the Indwelling Spirit, or the Inward Light, or whatever name we may choose for this great and divine fact, will reveal to us not only God, but man also.

We shall no longer be able to think of those whose ideas of truth and of morality do not agree with our own as beyond the pale. We shall at last be rid of the old diabolical attitude to the rest of the world which is summed up in the words, 'This people which knoweth not the law is accursed.' We shall know that all men have inherently within them the possibilities of Christlikeness; and the enthusiasm of the Incarnation, with the enthusiasm for the Indwelling Spirit, will teach us from the study of Christ that 'enthusiasm of humanity' which marked so plainly the life and character of our Master.

If we thus realise the significance of Christ's revelation of the divine character—that character which is not only the fundamental nature of the Eternal God, but the character of Christ Himself, and ideally the character for every man on earth—we shall cease as soon as may be our theorisings (for instance) about the metaphysical nature of divinity, and strive as little children to fathom the significance of the great facts that God is like Christ and Christ like God; that Christ told us to be like Himself; and that He revealed the working of the Spirit of God in men's hearts to make them like God. Thus we shall come to understand that every man who is like Christ, even for one moment out of all his life, is in so far like God: and that in him to that extent the work of the Indwelling Spirit has been accomplished. We shall understand also that God, of whom mankind has so often thought unworthily, is at least as adorable and as heroic as the highest that we know of human adorability and heroism—and is in addition infinitely more so.

God is no Oriental Potentate, but He is One who loves us as our mothers loved us when we were small. He is as humble and devoted as was Francis when he kissed the leper. He is as brave and as self-sacrificing as was Oates in the Antarctic blizzard. And in each case the human comparison must be qualified by saying, 'He is that, but He is also infinitely more than that.'

It is clear that such a view of the meaning of the Incarnation and of the presence of God's Indwelling Spirit in men's hearts makes God indeed a Living God. It brings Him down from a stilted Semitic Paradise into the storm and despair and heroism of our earthly life. It transforms Christ from a dim Scriptural figure of doubtful historicity and dwindling attractiveness—from the 'pale Galilean'—or from a mysterious and awful personage only to be approached through elaborate ceremonial, into the strong helper and comrade of everyday life, who will fight our battles for us and in us, giving us pluck and tenacity and optimism, together with gentleness and humility like His own: and who is all this for the whole race, for every single member of the race, and for ever.

When we gain this point of view, that every true and pure and noble action is God Himself at work in His world, through the operation of His Indwelling Spirit—we shall cease to notice day by day, as we open our papers, how fast the world is going to the devil: and we shall begin to realise that God is at work everywhere around us, that He is all-pervading, not in any pantheistic sense, but because everywhere there is at least a little honesty and generous friendliness and self-denial—visible fruits

of the working of the Spirit—and because everywhere the divine possibilities of Christlikeness which are set in the soul of every man on earth are beginning to be lived out in action.

As soon as we realise that we are set in the world in order that we may definitely and concretely live out the life of Christ, and reveal Him once more amongst our fellows by giving full course in our lives to the workings of the Indwelling Spirit, the world becomes a far more important and a far more wonderful place than it could ever be before. And perhaps the best of the whole matter is this—that the more earnestly we strive to fulfil this high destiny of ours, and to aid the working of the Spirit in the lives of others (so far as this is possible to frail and fallible men), the more shall we be impressed with our own miserable and contemptible failure in this great enterprise, and on the other hand, with the eternal majesty and uniqueness of Christ.

For the uniqueness of Christ depends on no ingenious juggling with the abstractions of metaphysics: and on no unquestioning acceptance of sonorous dogmas regarding the constituent elements in His nature. The uniqueness of Christ depends *on what He was and still is*, on the personality of Him who held the children on His knee, who faced dauntlessly the Cross, with all its nakedness and shame, who cried, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' Above all, the uniqueness of Christ depends on His living power of friendship in our own souls, in the Friend He still is and for ever will remain, able to save to the uttermost and to lead us into the full knowledge of the Father through the workings of His Spirit.

It is invariably true that the more Christlike men become—the more perfectly the work of the Spirit is fulfilled in their hearts—the more vividly and poignantly conscious do they also become of the unsurpassable gulf which is for ever fixed between true Christlikeness, as it is seen in Christ's personality, and the poor measure of Christlikeness to which they themselves have been able to attain. Thus a truly saving faith, finding expression in the determined and consistent effort of the human will to become like Christ, has ever fresh heights of attainment ahead of it, further and illimitable vistas of perfection, new worlds for the aspiring soul to conquer. For the character of Christ, which the Indwelling Spirit ever strives to recreate in human lives, is such that its very winsomeness and beauty draw men to yearn after Christlikeness: and yet the more earnestly and self-forgetfully they do so—the more successful they become in their quest—the more clearly do they discern that the ideal which lies ahead of them, and which works within them, is utterly beyond their attainment.

Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ in me,
Christ under me, Christ over me,
Christ to right of me, Christ to left of me,
Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up.[1]

[1] *The Breastplate of St Patrick.*

Chapter VI

THE BASIS OF HOPE

In each of the preceding chapters we have considered various factors that go to make the world, in the eyes of him that looks upon history in the light of the divine purpose, and of the Incarnation of God in Christ, and of the unceasing operation of the Indwelling Spirit in men's hearts, a place not of ever more sombre darkness and despair but of unquenchable hopefulness.

We have glanced at the immense and incalculable progress which has been made towards the fulfilment of God's purpose of freedom and love and Christlikeness. We have seen how His Spirit has led the race upward from the first beginnings of beast-life : how there came into the world mother-love, and the family bond, and the tribal bond, and wider and wider enlargements of the area of co-operation, up to the birth of the true world-state. We have seen how hand in hand with this extension of the principle of co-operation there has gone a fuller understanding of the meaning of true freedom, to which every nation and race may be said to have made its individual contribution. We have tried to appreciate a little of the significance of the Incarnation in the light of this eternal purpose ; and we have seen in Christ the landmark set at the point where God's labour of material creation

was so fully advanced that the divine Personality could enter man, the creature which it had built up from sheer materiality, and could express in him the very nature of the Eternal God Himself, in love and freedom, and in the conquest of sin and death through entire self-sacrifice for the redemption of others. Then we have seen in the working of the Indwelling Spirit the hope of salvation into freedom and love and Christlikeness of every man on earth, however hopelessly degraded and brutalised.

In Dr Fosdick's *Manhood of the Master* there occurs the following quotation from Sir Oliver Lodge, the great modern scientist: "I will not believe that it is given to man to have thoughts higher, nobler, than the real truth of things." Christ Himself expressed the same magnificent idea, in simpler language, when He said, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him."

The Place of the History-Teacher in the Conflict against Modern Pessimism

One of the legacies of the war is a prevailing pessimism, which makes itself apparent in a large number of relations. It is no doubt a natural development in an age which has seen, in such terribly distinct practical illustration, what appalling disasters the evil will in man can bring upon the world. But this prevailing pessimism is none the less dangerous, and to be zealously combated. In that combat the place of the history-teacher is

a very important one. If his pupils are allowed to go from his teaching with a cynical outlook upon the world, with a cheap and superficial readiness to scoff at progress (and therefore ultimately at truth and goodness and all noble ideals) as an invention of sentimentalists, then that teacher is fighting for the darkness against the light, for the evil in the world against the good, and his influence may be disastrous in the extreme. If, on the other hand, he sends forth pupils who have caught from him a glimpse of the great meaning of life in a world which is being saved out of beast-hood towards Christlikeness, then his influence upon the side of God and of the true well-being of humanity may be incalculable.

The tendency to question the reality of progress : the deliberate judgment of a certain type of thinker that the world is running rapidly downhill : the present-day inclination to throw over lightly and contemptuously the moral sanctions which were regarded as absolute in their authority by the last generation : the crude ambitions and fears, and the materialistic motives, which rule men in a large variety of relations, from the control of a business to the direction of national policy towards other nations : the thousand relics of the ' ethics of the jungle '—all these constitute under various aspects a denial of the reality of God's work in the world, and are hence an enemy to be relentlessly opposed by those, and especially by history-teachers, who desire to see for themselves and to show to others the career of mankind as a united and triumphant whole. It cannot be too strongly insisted, for instance, that moral licence is, and nearly always has

been, both the child of pessimism and its parent. It is when men and women feel, consciously or unconsciously, that life is no longer worth living, and its sanctities no longer worth preserving, that they set to work deliberately to break up the Ten Commandments : and once they begin this destructive process, it leads them forward deeper and deeper into the Slough of Despond. In the combat against such an attitude to life the place of the history-teacher may be more important even than that of the specifically religious instructor.

Christian Optimism

(*a*) *In Regard to God.*—Against all this world of modern pessimism is set the faith which declares that God is at work in His world : and that therefore the belief in progress is at the very root of all work for social emancipation and political or international betterment. Christian optimism is simple and final. We know that God is good, that God is love. We know that God is working through the continual operation of His Indwelling Spirit for the Kingdom of love and freedom and Christlikeness. We know that God is willing to pay with His own blood and tears—with His Cross—for the establishment of that Kingdom. Therefore whoever believes in God and His Christ believes also unshakably in progress : believes that, however dark things may seem for the present, God's own working is steadily drawing the world upward and nearer to Himself : believes, in short, that the reality of things is nobler than the highest thoughts we can ever entertain about it.

Such an optimism does not stop short at a light-hearted carolling of "God's in His heaven: all's right with the world," nor at any other cheap and easy short-cut to the ignoring of human agonies and perplexities and failures—any solution of the problem of pain and evil, for instance, which is satisfied with declaring that they are only delusion, and do not really exist at all. The true Christian optimism is no rose-water sentimentalism, to be upset by a man's first bad toothache. It is Faith. It is the attitude towards God which declares, "I know what He is like, and I know that He loves me. Therefore, come what may, knowing that He is at work in the world, I will hope on to the end, in the certainty of the coming of His Kingdom at last." Christian optimism strives to get back to the position of Jesus Christ, when He put the whole problem and its solution in those words about the human parent who cares for his children, and the certainty that the divine Father and Friend will care for them better still. If we take the trouble to think what human fatherhood means of delight in the children, and of striving that the children may have the best and be the best in every way, that one inimitable comparison will explain to us the whole basis of Christian hopefulness.

There is one element in this magnificent optimism of Jesus Christ which deserves especial notice. In cutting away for ever from His followers the possibility of a pessimistic attitude towards the world and progress and the future of humanity, Christ founds His argument for optimism upon parent-love, a simple and easily recognised fact of everyday life, a fact which comes within the experi-

ence of every individual on earth, a fact which is in itself the best and highest element in human nature, and a fact which has been of the widest significance, since long before man became man, in the upbuilding of the race. It is in essence the same principle to which Sir Oliver Lodge, in the words quoted above, appeals as the ground of his own optimism. Christ said, in effect, "There is in the common experience of humanity this element of parental love, a thing so fine, so beautiful, so noble, that—God being better and stronger than man—the ultimate triumph of God's Kingdom, which shall bring all truly good things to all mankind, is an absolute certainty." The reality of things, God's love and the hope which that love means for mankind, *must* be nobler than the best which we can see and know around us in everyday experience. Arguing from the weak human love, which is yet so beautiful and strong, to the omnipotent divine love, Christ knew that the future of the race is assured, that the victory of the Kingdom can only be a matter of time. And He based that conviction upon the element in human and prehuman nature in which, as we have seen, the evidence of the work of the Indwelling Spirit, striving eternally for the salvation of our race from the brute, is most clearly discernible. In His great asseveration of the love of God and of the hope which that love means for mankind, Christ went straight to the parent-love wherein most clearly, and over the longest stretches of development, the creative handicraft of God's Spirit is shown forth. He appealed, here as elsewhere, to the Light of God that burns in the heart of every man.

With regard to the modern re-statement of the Christian optimism, "I will not believe that it is given to man to have thoughts higher and nobler than the real truth of things," when we search into our hearts we find lying there, hidden and subdued perhaps, but still in existence, ideals of truth and beauty, and visions of nobility and self-sacrifice, which, just because they exist in our minds, and have existed in deed and action in the lives of the great lovers of humanity, prove with absolute authority, to those who strive to look on these things as Christ looked, that some day these ideals and these visions shall dominate all human relationships and affairs. For God is higher and nobler than man: God's will and purpose is that men should become like Christ, like Himself: God's Spirit is for ever working in men's lives to that end, and setting in their hearts the ideals of Christ-likeness.

This principle has an especial meaning in regard to our thought about God. Whenever we are tempted to believe in or to exploit the idea of an angry God, it behoves us to remember that whatever else in God's nature is beyond our comprehension, of this at least we can be absolutely assured —that His love and mercy are beyond the highest and deepest and tenderest that we can imagine. For God is Christlike.

There is a certain type of mysticism which delights in piling up negative statements regarding the divine nature. God is beyond all human understanding. However He be defined, it may confidently be asserted that He is not that. Unthinkable, unspeakable, unknowable, invisible,

infinite, and so on—these negations are the only terms which can legitimately be used to describe Him. Such adoration must seem thin and cold indeed to those whom Christ has brought into contact with the Father whose express image Christ Himself is. But we learn this much, perhaps, from this negative attitude of mind—that it is entirely impossible for man to over-emphasise God's love and beauty and joyful winsomeness. Let us think of the tenderest, strongest, wisest, happiest, entirely delightfullest human father whom we have ever seen or heard of. Then we may say with certainty that God is beyond all thought better than that father in all those qualities which make him so ideal. Next let us think of the closest, warmest, most loyal, satisfying, all-round human friendship we have ever known or heard of. Then we may say with confident certainty that God's friendship is beyond all thought better than that friendship in exactly those qualities which make that friendship so ideal. We must not, of course, stop there. We must take the highest we have ever known or heard of on every side of human relationships: the deepest and purest of all human love: the finest and noblest of human self-sacrifice: and placing all these qualities together we must say, "That is what God is like."

(*b*) *In Regard to Man.*—Such is Christian optimism when we think about God. What of it when we turn our thoughts to man? In the first place, this optimism will profoundly influence our attitude towards the individuals around us. It is, of course, the most familiar of platitudes to say that Christ always believed in and appealed to the best in those amongst whom He lived and worked. But

although it is a platitude, it is far from being the rule of life which it should be amongst the followers of Christ. "I will not believe that it is given to man to have thoughts higher and nobler than the real truth of things." What does this restatement of Christ's principle mean for us in the ordinary course of relationships with those, for instance, who, in deed as well as in word, openly scoff at the standards and ideals of Jesus Christ? It means that we must believe and act upon the belief that there are to be found in such men, however deeply hidden, capacities of tenderness and purity and heroism as perfect as we see and feel in God Himself. It means that the reality of the man is the divine potentiality within him. It means that this potentiality is unlimited in power and glory, needing only the opportunity to reveal itself in life and action, because it is the Indwelling Spirit of God Himself, for ever at work in the man's soul, origin of all the purity and heroism in all mankind ever since the foundation of the world. It means that our own task is, under the guidance of this same Indwelling Spirit, to strive that the Spirit may have opportunity for the revelation of the true man in those around us.

Thus in the sphere of our relationships with other individual human beings Christian optimism carries with it an unshakable belief in the divine possibilities in human nature: and an unfaltering appeal to the very highest in man. It carries with it the necessity of our taking seriously Christ's great commands, 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect,' and 'This is My commandment, That ye love one another, as I

have loved you ; a new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another : as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.'

In actual daily practice this great principle means that we shall treat every man as if he were what he should be in Christ's ideal—a very 'unpractical' attitude, no doubt, and one which may be supposed to lead to our being constantly hoodwinked and fleeced. But as we look back and try to recollect the few people we may have known who genuinely adopted this attitude of Christian optimism towards their fellow-men, it will not be hard for us to recognise that the amount of hoodwinking and fleecing which they may have suffered has been infinitesimal in significance when compared with the amount of good which they have done through their generous trustfulness.

In the next place, what of Christian optimism with regard to the larger problems of human association, and to the future of the race generally ? It is in this sphere of thought that non-Christian pessimism is most harmfully and most plausibly active in our day. It really does appear to the intelligence which has not learnt to view the world with the eyes of Christian optimism that, by a considerable number of routes, the world, or large sections of its inhabitants, is hurrying pretty quickly to the devil. But even if wars and nationalism and sectarianism and lust and selfishness and race-suicide seem to rage rampant and unchecked, still there is God's eternal purpose and will, for freedom and love and Christlikeness : still there is the unceasing, unhurrying activity of His Indwelling Spirit : still there is the certainty that, the reality

of things being a God like Christ, the Kingdom of God *will* come upon earth, *will* control all the relations of men, from the buying and selling of soap and candles in the shop to the organisation of the World State.

This is the truth, the reality of things, as seen through the eyes of Christian optimism. Such optimism knows that the Kingdom is here already, has already come (as Christ said in His own day), ruling in this life and that, in this attitude of common men towards each other and in that attitude. It is only a matter of time till God's thought of the Kingdom shall be perfectly incarnated in all human society, just as God Himself was and is perfectly incarnated in Christ.

Thus the whole world, and the whole of life, become irradiated with hopefulness to him who knows the Christlike and Indwelling God. The history of the past is seen as the record of how God has fulfilled His purpose in the creation of love and freedom and Christlikeness : the present is but one step in the stairway to God, its failures and tragedies are the raw material of conquest for God's Kingdom, its problems are the stuff whereof we may fashion a new realisation of the meaning of God's will for humanity : the future is illuminated by the sure and certain hope that God's purpose for humanity (a purpose for whose fulfilment He has already paid so infinitely much in His own blood and tears) *must* ultimately be realised.

Chapter VII

THE HISTORY-COURSE OF THE FUTURE

In the preceding chapters we have considered the function of the history-teacher, the significance of his subject-matter and various aspects of the religious faith and the religious hope which should inspire him. We have thought of him as performing the all-important task of introducing the future citizens of the World-State to the realisation of the worth and glory of their heritage. We have seen him showing to them something of the purpose of God which has been worked out in the history of our race, helping them to understand the development of the great twin principles of love and freedom, setting before their eyes the significance of the Incarnation and of the Indwelling Spirit, sharing with them the glory of the Christian hopefulness.

We have seen also that history is to be presented, not as a means of inculcating narrow-souled national particularism, but as a process whereby the studen of the world may come to recognise and appre the contributions that have been made b section of humanity—each nation and rac ture—to the life of mankind as a whole.

It may be anticipated that in the futu idea of the solidarity of humanity through to the committees which and appoint history text-books.

will be recognised as being what it really is—a golden opportunity, in conjunction with the Scripture lesson, for the training of the child that he may in future become a worthy citizen of the World-State. The history lesson will be a time when the child is taught to feel a lively pride in the achievements of humanity as a whole—not only, as during the old national stage of development, in sectional achievements. He will still be encouraged to take pride in the past records of his own race or nation; but that pride will be differently founded, for it will be pride in the service which his race or nation has performed for the sake of all mankind, and in the contribution which it has made towards the well-being of the whole human family. This universal well-being, and not national aggrandisement, will be set before the child's mind as the true meaning behind history; and the history-course (again in close connection with religious teaching) will form the key and centre of the whole educational system, because it will send the student out from school fired with the 'enthusiasm of humanity,' with admiration for the great work which has been done in the past by communities and individuals for humanity, with reverence for the divine purpose shown as working ut in history, with a true devotion towards the rnation of God in Christ, with a zeal to behold further the working of the Indwelling Spirit m and love and Christlikeness in every soul he may come in contact, and finally with able hopefulness and a steady resolve to life to the cause of humanity.

l is to be attained (and it may well essential task to be performed is

that of re-writing the world's history text-books, and of re-drafting the world's history-curricula.

In the elementary stages of his education the student will probably start his study of history by listening to, and reproducing, stories of the heroes of humanity drawn from all nationalities and races. With this will be closely connected the study of 'human geography.'

In the stage of secondary education the pupil will probably start with a simple course in the History of Civilisation. This will be designed to give him as a background for all subsequent study a conception of the life-movement of humanity as a whole. During this course the idea will sedulously be fostered in him that sectional and particularist interests must all, sooner or later, give way before the interests of the universal whole: and that national history can find its meaning only in the manner in which the nation in question has contributed good or evil, much or little, to the well-being of the whole human family. He will acquire, in other words, the mental equipment for judging the value of national exploits in the past, and of judging them by universal standards.

After this general course in the History of Civilisation the student will probably proceed to the consideration in more detail of certain main epochs of history; and he will be encouraged to apply criteria already acquired to the estimation of failure or success of sectional cultures and careers during these epochs. He will probably be taken through a course of European History (a course with especial attention to the

will consider the epoch as one whole movement); and he will be impressed on the one hand by the essential oneness of all progress, built up out of many differing contributions from diverse nations, and on the other hand by the value and beauty of unity when contemplated in the light of the tragic and disastrous results which have followed disunion and national selfishness in the past.

Later will come a series of more detailed studies of national histories, of which that of the pupil's own country will be the most elaborate. In these studies he will be taught to search carefully for the contributions made to the well-being of humanity as a whole by each individual nation, and to recognise also the mistakes which have been made, the treacheries which have been perpetrated against the cause of human progress as a whole, and the false lines of policy which have been followed. For the purpose of this stage of history-teaching there will be a series of history text-books written round such subjects as 'The Gift of Britain to the World,' 'The Gift of France to the World,' and so forth.

In higher stages of education the same ideal of historical study will be applied in a more detailed consideration of the progress of civilisation as a whole, and in a more critical examination and evalu-
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God and of the progress which has been made towards the attainment of that ideal. There will probably be a series of studies included in the history-curriculum dealing in a more or less detailed fashion with the manner in which specific areas of life have been 'civilised' (using that word in the highest sense), and specific wrongs (for example the slave trade, political corruption, the exploitation of child-labour) combated and swept away. There will also be a consideration of the manner in which the great modern problems of humanity—the race-problem, the problem of international rivalry and warfare, the problem of the adjustment of industrial relationships—may be approached in a spirit and with a policy as much as possible in accord with the spirit and policy of Jesus Christ.

The whole course in history and religion will be designed to create broad-minded well-wishers and aiders of humanity in its struggle upwards towards the realisation of God's ideals of freedom and love and Christlikeness, so that the student may leave his school or college in love with the human race, with a love which sees clearly men's faults and failures in the past, but is yet inspired by an unconquerable, and reasoned, hope for the future.

Chapter VIII

THE STREAM OF HISTORY

Note.—This chapter is intended to form a suggested outline of the type of history-course which should be taught in the junior classes of Secondary Schools.

The true student of history will be busied in discovering, on the one hand, the manner in which larger and larger groups of humanity have been bound together into family, tribe, state, federation of states, and world-state: and on the other hand, the manner in which the spirit of man has been steadily freed from external domination. In brief, the study of history is the study of the movements by which men have been enabled to think and speak and act in every relation of life in accordance with the will which is both free and good—the will, that is, which leads them of their own initiative to seek to help one another and to co-operate for the true benefit of their fellow-men: and this will is the Will of [illegible]orking through them.

[illegible]ent of history must endeavour to [illegible]r in which, through continually [illegible]nuinely co-operative groups, [illegible]d won, throughout the cen- [illegible] of the world, the capacity [illegible]trail, and for the freely- [illegible]sts in those of his fellows [illegible]nd for co-operation.

In the course of a brief attempt to survey the field of history from this point of view, it will be needful to adopt a territorial division of the subject-matter. In other words, we shall have to consider the fight which each individual people has carried on for itself against the forces of bondage and division. The necessity for this is clear when we remember the paralysing obstacles of physical distance, with the differences of speech and tradition, between people and people, and the lack of easy means of communicating ideas from one people to another. At the same time, we shall never forget that, though the battle for freedom and co-operation is fought, as it were, in a tangled forest, where each combatant can see only his immediate foe, yet that battle is in truth one and indivisible. The victory of the forces of progress in one small sphere is in truth a victory won for all mankind; and the soldiers of freedom and co-operation march forward as one great army throughout the whole earth.

In pursuance of our purpose it will be best to proceed in a sort of geographical series from East to West, determining briefly as we go the contributions made to the cause of humanity by each of the great peoples with which we meet on our way.

China.—We may deal first then with China. Here we find a vast and peace-loving population, living from immemorial times on fertile plains, industrious, law-abiding, free from many of those great obstacles which have hindered the progress of the race towards liberty farther West. There has been in China no caste, no feudalism, no absolutism (in the Western sense), no nationalism, and no big-scale industry (again in the Western sense).

Consequently we have here to look for the vindication of liberty in another and a more primitive and fundamental sphere, which may perhaps be described as the sphere of opposition to the first and last enemy of humanity, the extinction of the race.

The Chinese mind has throughout its history striven, perhaps blindly and unconsciously, but still gallantly and persistently and in an especially noteworthy manner, against that ultimate and absolute denial of all liberty, death itself. This is not, of course, to say that men of all races have not from the beginning combated death, with its final and complete inhibition—so far at least as superficially appears—of the freedom of man's will. It is true, indeed, that throughout the world religion has from the beginning led the attack of the human spirit upon its enemy death, and that in every land the belief in immortality or in transmigration, or in some similar manner of escape from extinction, represents the eternal insurgence of mankind against this ultimate tyranny. But, partly because of its freedom from the less obvious and universal denials of liberty which have bulked so largely in the history of the West, and partly because of its singularly practical and untranscendental temperament, the Chinese race has played a peculiarly interesting and striking part in the revolt of humanity against racial extinction.

The Chinese contributions to the cause of liberty, in this fundamental sphere, do not lie in the direction of the formulation of any doctrine of personal immortality, nor in the direction of any elaborate effort after individual longevity, nor in that of any remarkable philanthropy directed to the saving of

the weak and diseased, but in the practical working belief that a man lives again in his children and descendants, and consequently that to preserve unbroken the continuous existence of the family is the sovereign duty of the individual Chinaman, and the supreme contribution which he may make to the combating of the tyranny of death. The converse of this belief is, of course, the practice of ancestor-worship. "The Chinaman worships the ultimate Creator through the long chain of those, his own proximate creators, who have gone before him. The chain of worship must not be broken. Only by fatherhood is he justified in appearing before his ancestors and his Creator."

The consequence of such a conception of duty and religion is, as might be expected, the extremity of self-sacrifice in the service of the race, or rather of the family as that portion of the race which is the individual's personal concern. China teems with humanity, and with humanity living permanently under the most rigorous economic stress. The population crowds upon the means of subsistence till a break in the rainfall plunges millions into desperate starvation. Chinese prisons, it is said, have to be kept mediæval in their conditions and barbarous in their punishments, for otherwise the poor would commit crime solely in order to get shut up in them and to enjoy the privilege of being maintained on the prison fare. Yet, in spite of this grinding poverty—a poverty due to the deep-seated belief in the necessity of combating death by the perpetuation of the life of the family at all costs—it is worth noticing that the average development of a Chinaman, both physical and intellectual, is superior

to that of the average white man. "The only statistics of Chinese brain-weight available show them to exceed all other races in this respect, their average brain-weight being fully six ounces above that of the average negro and one and a half ounces above the European."[1]

The meaning of the Chinese revolt against racial extinction may be well instanced by the fact that in China a criminal condemned to death may without much difficulty find a substitute who, in consideration of a sum paid to his family, will consent to be executed in the place of the condemned man. This is typical of a world of thought and practice in which the individual is glad to perish in order that his descendants may have the means of life: in which remorseless toil is cheerfully undergone, and a tyrannical economic pressure cheerfully borne, by the great mass of a teeming population with the deliberate purpose that the future may have the chance of existence.

In Western lands the tendency has generally lain in the direction of letting the future look after itself: and of stigmatising as quixotic any proposal deliberately to stint the present generation in favour of coming generations. In time of war resources are ruthlessly squandered whose loss must inevitably bear hard upon the future. Colossal burdens of debt are gaily assumed, in spite of the fact that the main responsibility for paying them off must inevitably fall upon the descendants of those who incur them. The main reason for the decay of ancient Rome was a deliberate refusal to allow the future to have life at all—a huge process of race-suicide,

[1] Hubbard, *The Fate of Empires*.

whose significance may be partially gathered from the fact, so frequently mentioned in later Roman literature, that the married man was laughed at as a fool. There are modern lands, moreover, where a falling birth-rate shows that the same process of race-suicide, though working in a different fashion, is already far advanced. In face of these facts the Chinese affirmation of the necessity for the sacrifice of the individual, and of contemporary society as a whole, in order that the future may have the opportunity of life, and that the race may be safeguarded from extinction, the final denial of liberty, may well be found to merit respectful consideration. In it we may recognise a distinctive and very valuable gift to the general treasury of humanity.

Thus the Chinese contribution towards human progress lies mainly in the sphere of family-loyalty —of self-sacrifice for the sake of posterity. The Chinaman is content to labour and die in order that his children and his children's children may have freedom to live, that the race may survive and endure. The high altruism of such a spirit and ideal needs no emphasising. The Chinaman lives a life of self-denying co-operation not only with the members of his family alive in the present, but with those who have lived and died that he might have life, and with those who are yet unborn, but for whose sake he is sacrificing himself.

Nothing can hinder the rise to greatness of a people so magnificently capable of self-sacrifice for the cause of the race.

India.—We next come to India. Here the main problem to be solved in the cause of liberty and co-operation has been the great labyrinth of divi-

sions between man and man and community and community which is known as the caste-system. That system was in all probability introduced by the nomad 'Aryan'[1] invaders from Central Asia, in order to maintain the purity of their blood and to safeguard themselves against racial intermixture with the non-Aryan aborigines. The Sanskrit word for caste signifies 'colour': and the caste-system was in its origin essentially a colour-bar. The divisive tendencies thus introduced have spread and reproduced themselves with startling universality, until in modern India caste constitutes a menace to liberty comparable with that of the worst mediæval feudalism in the West. To say this is not to deny that caste has through the ages supplied useful stabilising factors to Indian society—it has undoubtedly done so. But none the less caste has produced incalculable evil, in hatred, division, servility, contempt, pride: and, above all, in the denial of the freedom of opportunity for a full life—and indeed, in many cases, of the primary rights of humanity—to vast masses of the Indian population.

Throughout the ages, however, the evils of the caste-system have produced vigorous remonstrance from the greatest leaders of Indian thought, who have consequently given utterance to a series of great affirmations of the truth that every man has an inalienable right to spiritual and social liberty: that all mankind are equal in the sight of God, and that all should be given equal opportunities to attain a full personality.

This great chain of protest against caste, and of affirmation of the rights and truths which caste

[1] The term is incorrect, but convenient.

denies, may be traced from Gautama Buddha through Kapila, Vemana, Basava, Ramananda, Kabir and the Sikhs, to Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Mahatma Gandhi. We may, indeed, include Islam and its prophet in this same catalogue of those who have preached and lived brotherhood; for though Islam is not Indian in origin, and though Muhammad never set foot on Indian soil, yet India to-day contains more Musalmans than any other country, and Islam has had decisive influence for nearly a thousand years upon her history.

Perhaps the most impressive and beautiful of all these testimonies against caste—these witnessings to the equality of all men before God, and to their inalienable right of liberty from an artificial social tyranny—is that of Kabir, the Musalman weaver, who, together with a barber, a tanner, and other social outcastes, was disciple to the Hindu sage Ramananda some four hundred years ago. As translated by Rabindranath Tagore, himself one of the greatest modern champions of the same cause of liberty, Kabir declares :—

It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs,
For the priest, the warrior, the tradesman and all the thirty-six castes, alike are seeking for God,
It is but folly to ask what the caste of a saint may be,
The barber has sought God, the washerwoman, and the carpenter,
Even Raidas was a seeker after God.
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that End
Where remains no mark of distinction.[1]

As one reads such lines, and reflects on the en-

[1] Tagore, *Kabir*.

vironment in which they were written, one hears speaking through them the voice of the great lovers of the human race, the voice of the champions of God's way in the world, fearlessly proclaiming to mankind that at last the old barriers are broken down and the old wrongs swept away, because it is God's Will that these evil things should be brought to an end: and because, however patiently it work, His Will at last shall be performed. It is the same voice which in Wycliffe or in Voltaire thundered against feudalism, in Hampden and in Danton against absolutism, in Wilberforce and in Garrison against slavery, in Mazzini and in the Declaration of Independence against imperialism. It is the voice which in our own day has spoken again in India :—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms to perfection,
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
awake.[1]

Here, then, we shall find one of the main contributions of India to the cause of freedom and co-operation—that cause the progress of which it is the main task of the historian to investigate. In the witness of the great reformers of India against

[1] Tagore, *Gitanjali*.

the tyranny of caste, as embodied in cruel and oppressive social and religious customs, we have a noble gift to the life of humanity—a signal and deeply altruistic contribution towards the liberation of the human spirit.

From the two instances just given it will be realised, however, that the witness of India to freedom and co-operation is cast in a different mould to that of the West. It lacks the ring of defiant practical clamancy which sounds, for instance, in Wycliffe's cry, "Lords devour poor men's goods in gluttony and waste and pride," or in More's, "Sheep are eating men," or in the famous exordium of the American Declaration of Independence, "We hold this truth to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," or in Danton's, "Audacity, always audacity," or in Garrison's, "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." The Indian witness to freedom is couched in a calmer and loftier strain; and it is more plainly based upon eternal and transcendental sanctions and convictions.

This consideration will lead us towards a recognition of another great contribution of India to the liberation of the human spirit. That contribution lies in the field of the conquest of the beast in man through the life of religious discipline. In a previous chapter we have briefly glanced at the power of beast-survivals, of the relics of primæval instinct, in chaining down humanity: and we have remarked how God's purpose of freedom and love comes into conflict with these survivals, which form a huge

imperium of necessity and evil, against which freedom and love must wage a desperate warfare. The keen-sighted Indian thinkers of the past have clearly perceived this truth, and have insisted with one voice that the man is a slave whose will is mastered by desire in any form, by desire of money, for instance, or by the lust of the flesh, or by the passion for drink or for other forms of self-indulgence, or by the ambition for power. Such a man may possess all the privileges of citizenship in the most enlightened country on earth: his liberty may be buttressed by rights and franchises and safeguards innumerable. But he is none the less a slave, and a contemptible slave. For he is held in thraldom by the primæval beast within him. The ancient seers of India saw and proclaimed this truth. Down to our own day their witness has endured, and has been a thousand times repeated. Desire is the beast in man. Slavery to Desire is a lower and more bestial condition for a man to live in than slavery to a cruel taskmaster with a whip, or to a feudal aristocracy, or to a savage tyrant, or to a corrupt capitalism, or to a proud twice-born caste, or to a cruel foreign imperialism. Such slavery to Desire is not only the most degrading, but is also the most pervasive and widespread, and moreover the most dangerous, of all forms of bondage.

Thus the ancient seers of India, with their modern successors, have made the world their debtor by the unswerving persistence with which they have emphasised their conviction that Desire—the beast-instinct in man—is the fundamental denial of all liberty, and that Desire is only to be conquered by the help of the Unseen God.

The true history of India is not political or constitutional or military history, as in the West: nor, be it said (for it needs saying), is it the learning off by heart of strings of foreign invaders and indigenous autocrats. The true history of India is the history of Indian thought and of Indian religion. It deals not with Alexander and Muhammad Ghaznavi, not with Babar and Clive, nor with any such victorious supermen: but with the annals of the great rebellions against caste, with the records of the great schools of thinkers and seers who successively taught redemption from Desire, with the long roll of the great masters of the spirit who have witnessed to the supremacy of the spiritual life and of spiritual discipline over all so-called practical and matter-of-fact interests and considerations.

As a man's soul is to his body, so is the witness of the Indian genius for liberty in comparison with the witness of the Western genius for liberty. It is transcendental and eternal, where the Western witness is practical, worldly and temporal. Mankind needs both points of view; for 'without vision the people perish': and the danger before the world to-day is much more that of forgetting the Indian witness than that of forgetting the witness of the West.

Arabia and Palestine.—Passing on from India we reach the great lands of the Middle East. Here Arabia and Palestine must engage our attention.

Some reference has already been made to the contribution which has been brought by Islam to the liberation of the spirit of man and to the cause of co-operation. The contribution of Islam lies in the witness of that very powerful religious and

social system to the equality and brotherhood of all believers. In a world divided by racial, national and class barriers, it is the glory of Arabia that it gave birth to a faith which strikes like a bright keen sword at caste-prejudice, colour-prejudice and national prejudice in every land which it enters. Throughout the world Musalmans of every race and tongue form one brotherhood, ruled by one religious and social law, and enjoying permanent liberty from those hard and cruel restrictions, those barriers of custom and social exclusiveness, which divide man from man elsewhere. In the mosque the Emperor worships by the side of the beggar; for the devout Musalman knows, and practises his knowledge, that beneath the sway of the one all-powerful God all men are equally as dust.

One of the miracles of history is the manner in which, during the seventh century, this militant Musalman fellowship swept across the world, purging away, as if by fire, the wreckage of dying empires and rotting caste-ridden civilisations, uniting in one brotherhood, under the rule of one God, men of every race from Portugal to China.

When we come in our Westward progress to Palestine, we find here a tiny country, from time immemorial the battle-ground of rival imperialisms, fought across by Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Hittites, Syrians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Crusaders, Mongols, French, British, Germans and many others. We find in that country the home of a miracle unparalleled in history—a race which for two thousand years has never held the country which is its home-land, yet a race which preserves intact in exile its national consciousness,

its national characteristics, and its national religion. We see here the home-land of that strongest (as it may well seem) of all forces operative in the world of men to-day—the force of nationalism. For the Jews were a nation far back in the beginnings of history, and for fifteen hundred years at least—up to the rise of modern nationalism—they may be said to have been the only nation on earth. In their intense national sufferings, in the unfailing and ferocious courage with which again and again through their long history they fought foreign imperialism to the death in face of impossible odds, they may be said to have brought into the world the great conceptions on the one hand of the strong bond of national co-operation, and on the other hand, of liberty as a right belonging not only to individual men, or to small city-states, but to nation-states—a right to be vindicated and fought for at all costs.

Yet, however great may be our respect for the Jews and for the contribution to human freedom and co-operation which they thus made (although, as we have already seen, this national element in liberty has been dangerously over-developed during the modern period of history), it is not to their national history that we must look for the great and signal contribution which their country of Palestine has made to the history of the race. We must look instead to the new religious system which arose as a reform-movement within Judaism (in somewhat the same way in which Buddhism arose as a reform-movement within Brahmanism, or the Reformation as a reform-movement within Catholicism). That reform-movement we call Christianity; and the

significance of Christianity in the history of liberty and co-operation is incalculable.

In the first place Christianity is, like Islam, a mighty witness to brotherhood. It bears testimony to the inalienable right of all men, as equal sons of the one divine and loving Father, whose Will is freedom and love, to liberation from the false and reactionary barriers of caste and class and race. In endeavouring to apply this principle Christianity has had but partial success when compared with Islam. It has had harder material to deal with—the fierce and barbarous and intensely warlike tribes of Central Asia, which overran the Roman Empire, and upon its wreckage built Feudalism, with all its insensate and inhuman divisions and taboos. Islam, on the other hand, found its scope mainly amongst the peoples whom the old empires had already tamed and civilised and united. Be this as it may, it is impossible to deny, when we look broadly at the history of civilisation, that Musalmans regard each other in the main as brothers unsundered by race or nationality, whereas Christendom, in flat disregard of the teachings of Christ, is torn asunder by every conceivable type of rivalry and division.

In the second place, Christianity stands for the freeing of the human spirit from the tyranny of death. We saw that this is true also of China; but there the death which is fought is the death, not of the individual, but of the race. Indeed, in China the individual is remorselessly sacrificed for the benefit of succeeding generations. In the Christian system it is the death of the individual which is fought rather than the death of the race;

but not merely in the sense of physical death. In the doctrine of personal immortality through fellowship with God, the Christian finds the assurance of eternal liberty from annihilation—that blackest and cruellest of all despotisms, of all denials of the freedom of the human will.

In the third place Christianity, by its fundamental doctrine of self-sacrifice, has been a force of the utmost importance both in the quelling of the beast in man, in the establishment of ever fuller and deeper co-operation, and in the breaking down of tyranny and division in many spheres. The highest and purest ideals are useless, unless men can be found who are willing to lay down their lives in order to ensure that those ideals shall be lived forth in actual practice. The example of its Founder has ensured to Christianity a stream of saints and prophets and martyrs—heroes who have stood for the truth of love and of freedom (not only in the 'spiritual' sphere but in contending for the sweeping away of specific wrongs), and who have been willing to face opposition and obloquy and death itself in order to assist the cause of the Kingom of God in its conflict against the manifold forces of oppression and hatred.

Greece.—This brief account must here suffice for the contributions to humanity which have come through Palestine, and through the Christianity which was born in Palestine. They are contributions of the Oriental rather than of the Occidental type—that is, they consist in the affirmation of fundamental spiritual truth rather than in the discovery of practical methods of organisation for putting the principles of freedom

and co-operation into action in a very unideal world.

In our progress westward we next cross the dividing-line between Europe and Asia and come first to Greece. Here we shall find the very nursery and homeland of that solid practical type of freedom, the freedom of constitutional rights and of liberal institutions, which is characteristic of the West, and which stands out in such sharp contrast to the deeper and more other-worldly testimony to freedom which the spirit of man owes to the East. We shall find also great achievements of the principle of co-operation, though in a restricted sphere —that of the small Greek city-state.

Greece is the motherland of Western thought, of Western literature, of Western art, and, above all, of Western freedom. The brief tempestuous history of her two great centuries is of vital interest to all true students of history, showing, as it does, how one small people lit a torch which has never yet been extinguished, however dimly it may sometimes have burnt, and which still fires the imagination of men of every type of mind—even of men who have seemingly no capacity for appreciating the deeper and more other-worldly aspects of the progress of humanity.

The first great contribution of Greece to freedom is to be found in the struggle which went on at one time or another in almost every one of her cities between the common people and oppressive oligarchies or tyrannies. The ideal of constitutional liberty first arose in the systems of the great lawgivers, whose work was carried through as a result of popular risings against these oppressors. It was

a work which sufficed to safeguard Greek democracy during the few brief generations that were to elapse before the brilliance of that extraordinary race burnt itself out.

In the systems of Lycurgus, of Solon, of Cleisthenes, we have for the first time the idea of a constitution—of fundamental laws which the citizens not only agree to observe, but which they also venerate and worship, because they define and safeguard their liberty from the attacks of despotism or anarchy or faction.

To the Athenian the Laws of the State were sanctities even more holy and inviolable than his Constitution is now to the average American. The freedom guaranteed by these Laws, the fundamental constitutional regulations of the Greek city-state, was not a merely negative defending of the State and its citizens against a renewal of oligarchy or tyranny, of outrage or of economic oppression. That freedom was a positive thing also—and was to all intents and purposes personified and worshipped as such, a fact which may be seen, for instance, from a study of the pages of Thucydides, and especially from his interpretation of the mind of the great Athenian statesman, Pericles. Liberty was to the Greek a beneficent divine influence, which secured to the average citizen his definite right to a share in the task of controlling the government and the public affairs of his city. Liberty was something which meant the granting of all that a man could desire of a full and cultured and self-directed life. Liberty meant leisure, and the gift of a certain modicum of the material things necessary to life. Liberty meant

the right to hear and to appraise the work of the greatest of the world's dramatists and orators. Liberty meant encouragement for artistic talent of every kind. Liberty meant the opening up of opportunities for public service in responsible office before even the poorest citizen. Liberty meant all this and far more than this—it meant membership in a creative fellowship, compact, self-conscious in the best sense, awake to its supreme greatness and to the sovereign importance of the work which it was doing.

It is true that this creative democratic fellowship, this free and triumphant co-operative brotherhood, was based on and supported by slave-labour. It is true also that it endured but a brief while, and then fell before the commonplace vices of pauperisation and faction-fighting. But whilst it existed, for the Athenian citizen at least Athenian constitutionalism secured in rich and full measure a freedom at once eminently practical and eminently beautiful.

When Greece was threatened by the great wave of Persian invasion, the young democracies had to fight for their lives against that deadly enemy, militant imperialism. They fought, and they won ; and their victory—the victory of communities so tiny, yet so devoted to freedom, against the greatest empire in the world, but an empire despot-governed —gave an incalculable impetus to the nascent cause of liberty. That cause was seen to involve not merely the vindication of the principle of government under constitutional guarantees against the onslaughts of despotism : not merely the vindication of the principle of democracy—of a system under which every citizen shared in the political

direction of his own life and of the life of his commonwealth—but the vindication of the principle of corporate self-determination, of Home-Rule, of the right of a community to live its own life free from the arbitrary dominance of a foreign imperialism.

Thus Greece brought liberty amongst men in three supremely important spheres. She taught humanity for the first time the meaning of those three great watchwords of freedom—Constitutionalism, Democracy and Self-Determination. And she taught these things through the strong bond of co-operation which existed within her city-states.

Yet the services of Greece went deeper even than this. For, through the personality and the work of the greatest of her children, Socrates the Athenian, as transmitted and interpreted by the transcendent genius of his pupil Plato, Greece taught the world what is meant by freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience. Socrates died, gallantly and ungrudgingly, because he refused to permit even the Athenian democracy, which he loved so well, to limit his inalienable right to think and to say what his conscience taught him to be true and right. That death—the highest and most glorious instance of self-sacrifice for the sake of Truth which the world had yet seen—brought down amongst men, as if by some miraculous stroke of the finger of God, those lofty and sacred ideals of liberty in thought, in word, and in the following of God's guidance through conscience, which constitute the Western counterpart to the deep spiritual liberties whose homeland has been the East.

It is true that the greatness of Greece in the

battle for liberty and co-operation lay rather in the sphere of discovery than in that of practice and consolidation. It is true that her democracies fell under that twin curse of all Western democracy, the tyranny of the majority provoking factional violence, and the incontrollable desire of a free people to impose its will by force on other free peoples. It is true, as has already been mentioned, that the slave population of a city like Athens vastly outnumbered the free population. It is true also that, in the absence of any system of representation, the Greek democracies, like all other ancient republican government, tended inevitably to become government by the lazy and pauperised mob, and thus were fated in time to fall helplessly under the assault of military despotism. All these things are true. But none the less the Greek contribution to the cause of humanity must compel our unstinted admiration. We can have nothing but veneration for a people so radiantly splendid, a people whose very splendour consumed itself and them in a few brief generations by its own fierce brilliance. The Greeks, like their own hero, Prometheus, were the bestowers upon mankind, at the cost of their own downfall, of the rich gifts which alone have made possible the subsequent progress and civilisation and liberation of the race.

Rome.—When, in our Westward progress, we come to Rome, we find but little, in comparison with Greece, to call for our admiration and reverence. We see, it is true, a city-state struggling for freedom from domestic tyrants and foreign conquerors. In the ejection of the Tarquin dynasty we see the ending of Etruscan domination. In the

long struggle between patricians and plebeians, concluding in the triumph of the latter, we see, as in Greece, the development of a constitutional system of government, safeguarded by fundamental laws, and designed as a means of preventing exploitation by the nobles of the common people. But once this triumph has been won, and liberty vindicated to this extent, we are struck by a sudden slackening of the Roman work for freedom. The new-born democracy falls before the temptation to military imperialism. The Roman genius for war renders sterile the work of Rome for liberty. First Italy is conquered; and by the time the defeat of Pyrrhus, the successor of Alexander, has turned the eyes of Rome beyond Italy, the 'aristocracy of office' is seated firmly in the saddle at Rome herself. The magistrates are still nominally elected by the people, but they are entirely dependent upon the bureaucratic Senate: and the people themselves before long acquiesce in the extinction of their own shadowy power by their fatal readiness to allow themselves to be bribed, in electing the magistrates, by free food and gladiatorial shows.

Then came the appalling catastrophe of the Second Punic War, which on the one hand turned Rome into a world-power, and a world-power peculiarly subject to the temptations of empire: and on the other hand utterly destroyed the prosperity of rural Italy, driving the sturdy peasants into the cities, there to become an idle and dangerous mob, which must be kept quiet by the gifts—made by ambitious candidates for office—of ever larger and larger shares in the spoils of empire.

Thus, after a brief though brilliant period of

constitutionalism, the wonderful military genius of the Romans laid them, bound helplessly hand and foot, in the hands first of a bureaucratic aristocracy; next of adventurers (Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, each of whom strove more successfully than his predecessors to exploit the Roman mob-passions for the sake of his own personal ascendancy, and to enjoy the prizes of a more and more nakedly military dictatorship), and finally of autocratic Emperors, whose power rested upon the support of a great world-controlling military system.

Rome conquered the world, but in order to do so she had first to conquer her own true self. It was at the cost of her own soul—her own liberty—that she became mistress of mankind; and 'what shall it profit a nation if she gain the whole world, and lose her own soul.' As she cast further and further out amongst the peoples the net of her governmental and legal system; as she brought the 'Roman peace' to more and more distant tribes and races; as she expanded her citizenship from membership in a privileged caste within a small Italian city-state to an equal heritage for all civilised mankind; as she knit men together into a world-bond of co-operation by the consciousness of common destiny, and by a joint allegiance to one universal overlord; as she built her roads, and founded her 'little Romes' from the Clyde to Mesopotamia, so also she more and more scientifically and completely enslaved mankind. Her work of unification was in the highest degree magnificent. The man who more than any other carried that work through—the Emperor Augustus—must probably rank as the greatest statesman the world has

ever seen. But the Roman unification was unification into slavery. For a time the world was peaceful and prosperous to a degree far exceeding any previously attained. But it was a peace static rather than dynamic, and a prosperity which came from the absence of disturbance rather than from the triumphant overcoming of obstacles and disadvantages. Then came the Barbarians, and it was demonstrated on a colossal scale that integration without freedom means degeneration and ultimate disaster. The Roman imperial government had become a grinding tyranny, which decided for the world-citizen the most intimate details of his life, forbidding (for instance) travel, compelling by force the taking up of public offices which had once been the guarantee of liberty, and even directing whom a man should or should not marry. Hence, when the Barbarian deluge came down upon the Roman world, there was no heart in men to make them endeavour to beat it back. Life as a world-citizen without freedom was not worth living: or at least had not sufficient attraction in it to spur men to an effort to preserve it.

The Roman Empire died a festering death, befouled with the ulcers of slavery and race-suicide, of continual military insurrection, of the most grinding government-imposed caste-system, of an utter degradation of local and provincial administration. The Roman peace had meant, at first, licence for the Roman governing caste to wallow in luxury, corruption and oppression: and then, after the period of better organisation which followed Augustus, an equality of misery under a harsh military despotism.

Yet the Empire left behind it a great and magnificent tradition of universalism, which has inspired the imagination of mankind ever since: and which was of the greatest assistance to the Christian Church in her colossal task of taming the wild Asiatic hordes which swamped the Empire and steeped Europe for a thousand years in a resurgence of primæval savagery. At the heart of this Roman universalism was a marvellous system of law—not the constitutional law of the Greeks, for such law had little place or scope under an all-pervading absolutism, but a practical and workmanlike structure of regulations whereby the relationships of individual men and of communities of men might be directed in a world-wide and highly-civilised commonwealth.

It is to this tradition of universalism founded on the equal sway of an enlightened legal system—a boon of an altogether different type from those conferred upon mankind by Greece and by the East—that we must look for Rome's great contribution to mankind. We owe to her the tradition and the practical framework of world-integration, rather than any positive and fundamental witness to liberty.

The Middle Ages.—For a thousand years Europe was barbaric. For most of that dim period Feudalism reigned supreme. The polity of the steppe was roughly adapted to the ruling of a shattered continent, a continent which had once been united and civilised, and which long ago had learnt from Greece to dream at least the dreams of freedom. If the West is still ridden by zealous devotion to lower goods—to nationalism instead of world-

brotherhood, to materialistic exploitation of the vast natural resources which modern science has put into her hands—it must not be forgotten that it is less than five centuries since a few *literati* began to awaken Europe as a whole to the fact that she had a history, a record of freedom and greatness, behind her : it is less than two and a half centuries since the Turks were at the gates of Vienna : it is less than a century and a half since France shook off the chains of the Feudal System : it is less than a century since the Great Reform Bill loosened the clutches of an aristocracy still in many respects feudal from English political life. As one reads through the long list of the savage Asiatic tribes which overran Europe in recurring waves of destruction and anarchy from A.D. 236 to A.D. 1683, it must be remembered that each wave represents a fresh submerging of the last relics of ancient unity, and a fresh denial of that organised liberty which had been discovered and vindicated so brilliantly by Greece, and honoured in word, but dishonoured in deed, by Rome. Small wonder if, with that barbarian heritage so close behind, European civilisation still shows signs of imperfection !

Yet the Middle Ages, which form from some points of view so dark a picture of the submerging of civilisation and unity under savage anarchy, of the crystallising of a great and crude denial of liberty in the Feudal System, of the defeat through indwelling weaknesses of various efforts at unification, of the springing up of modern nationalism organised under autocratic kingship (as a legacy from Asiatic tribal chieftainship and yet as a means of combating feudalism, which was a legacy even

more direct and obvious)—these Middle Ages none the less made great contributions to the liberation of the human spirit and to the ideal of universal brotherhood. In the first place, the basis of all civilised life, in so far as such existed, was perceived to be spiritual. Mediæval Christianity was in many respects out of concord with the Christianity of Jesus Christ, yet it was founded on the great Christian asseverations of the equal love of God for all men, the immortality of the soul, the sovereign value of self-sacrifice and of the quelling of the beast in man, which we have already remarked as being of such deep and far-reaching significance to liberty. For the first time a deliberate and sustained effort was made, by the best and most capable minds the world contained, to found a universal society and to control all the relations, both of individual men and of states, in accordance with the Will of a holy and loving God. As a result, although the Church lost her own soul, yet in a very real sense she saved the world. The barbarians were slowly and with infinite sacrifice and suffering won for higher and better ways of living: learning was preserved: the remembrance of ancient greatness was not suffered entirely to die away: civilisation, which during the Dark Ages seemed to have vanished from the earth for ever, was slowly revived: above all a central authority was erected, and accepted, which stood, in spite of many failures and treacheries, for mercy, purity, reverence for man as man, and a steady policy of assuaging the ferocities of barbarism.

In conception the mediæval Papacy, as foreshadowed by Augustine in his *City of God* and

built up by the master-mind of Hildebrand, was one of the most magnificent ideals that have ever influenced humanity. The 'servant of the servants of God' was to be set above princes, that he might bring into operation amongst men the Will of the Father-God revealed in Jesus Christ—the Father-God who labours and dies that freedom and love and Christlikeness may reign amongst men. For his possession of, and by, that ideal, and for the faithfulness with which during a long lifetime he worked for its fulfilment, Hildebrand must be set near to Augustus at the head of the world's great statesmen. And inasmuch as the ideal of Hildebrand was infinitely higher than that of Augustus, and therefore infinitely harder of attainment, there will not be lacking those who will argue that the place of the austere victor of Canossa is higher than that of the heir to Julius Cæsar.

In the event, the ideal of Hildebrand failed. The forces of the steppe proved too strong. The Papacy was disastrously weakened, and still more disastrously corrupted, in its great struggle with the Holy Roman Empire, which was a German feudal kingship (and hence a development of primitive tribal chieftainship) endowed, through the mistaken policy of Hildebrand's predecessors, with claims to universal allegiance, which of necessity conflicted with those of the Hildebrandine Church. Later, when tribalism, aided by autocracy, developed throughout Europe into nationalism, the Church, which had compromised its position by employing the weapons of worldly conflict against the Empire, fell helplessly into the hands of this new enemy: and the hope of a universal Christian rule under the

benign sway of the Vicar of Christ died away in the sordid tragedies of the Babylonish Captivity, the Great Schism, the nationality-ridden Council of Constance, and the secularism of the fifteenth century, when the Papacy aspired, not to world-dominance through service and asceticism, but to the leadership of Italian nationalism, a leadership which was to be attained through the creation of a superlative Renaissance magnificence, and by means of a policy of Renaissance Machiavellianism.

Yet the failure of the ideal of Hildebrand must not be permitted to blind our eyes to the greatness of that ideal. Mankind was to be united once more, as under imperial Rome: but mankind was to be united in conscious and willing allegiance to the teaching and example of the prophet of Nazareth, who lived and died for freedom and love.

Still the thought and the work of these two men —Augustus and Hildebrand—challenges humanity, rebuking our narrow particularism by contrast with the universal spirit that inspired them both, and convicting us of meanness of soul and poverty of faith in face of the unswerving certainty of the great Pope that the Will of God may in actual fact control both men and nations in one mild universal rule.

We must pass in rapid review the remainder of our subject, and must perforce omit mention of many peoples which have made valuable contributions to the cause of liberty and co-operation. The devil of Feudalism was cast out by other devils—Absolutism, Aggressive Nationalism, Imperialism. Against all of these the Greek spirit of freedom has waged desperate warfare since in the Renaissance

four and a half centuries ago that spirit again became a potent force in the world of European affairs.

Germany.—Amongst the peoples of modern Europe, the Germans have borne the main burden of the task of reasserting, though in a changed form, the ancient principle of liberty of conscience, whose early vindication we have noticed as the work of Socrates, the Athenian. This was the principle brought back amongst men with irresistible power by Martin Luther in the Protestant Reformation. With it is of necessity closely joined the kindred principles of freedom of thought and freedom of speech, and that of the liberty of private judgment.

The Reformation was the German phase of the Renaissance. The new critical and creative spirit which arose with the revival of ancient learning expressed itself in Italy æsthetically, in an outburst of triumphant artistic and literary skill, and later in a development of scientific enquiry (chiefly associated with the names of Da Vinci and Galileo), which has been of immense significance to the modern world; but in Germany this same critical and creative spirit of the Renaissance led to a demand for honesty and righteousness in the Church, and for the right of freedom in conscience, thought, speech and judgment. Hence came the Reformation, which meant the shattering of the ideal of Christian universalism, and the protracted enslavement of Church to State in many parts of Europe, but at the same time asserted man's inalienable right to these precious forms of freedom, and by so doing led on to the wider and fuller extension of liberty which is associated with the Revolution.

Great Britain.—In a long and majestic series of fundamental laws, extending from Magna Carta, in A.D. 1215, to the enfranchisement of women in A.D. 1918, England brought back again amongst mankind the Greek ideal of those constitutional guarantees which safeguard the average man from the tyranny of autocratic monarch or of insolent aristocracy. But these guarantees were now reinforced by a new and crucially important development for the history of democracy—the representative system. We have seen how Greek democracy fell, after a few brief years of brilliant achievement, before the fatal disabilities imposed upon it by the fact that the democratic organ of government was a lazy and pauperised and faction-torn mob, each member of which had a right to a voice and a vote in the Assembly, whilst the industrious and sensible citizens would generally be too busily engaged in their own activities to attend the Assembly regularly and to make their weight properly felt therein. But the representative system, first developed in the primitive tribal assemblies of the Teutonic invaders of Roman Britain, and revived during the richly creative thirteenth century, rendered it possible for the people to delegate their governmental powers to their chosen representatives—men selected for their skill in state-craft, their public spirit and the fact that they had leisure to give to national affairs. Thus the people as a whole were enabled to continue their ordinary work, whilst through their representatives in Parliament they learnt to goverm themselves.

This Representative System has proved to be of universal applicability and of incalculable value in

all modern developments of democracy. It has been adopted far and wide through the world, and is the only factor which renders democracy of any kind possible in view of modern conditions, under which mankind is divided into widespreading nation-states, each inhabited by vast numbers of men and women. Still more important, this system must of necessity be the only possible method of organising the future world-democracy foreshadowed through the League of Nations.

It was by virtue of the constitutionalism thus established on the firm basis of the representative system that England broke the power both of feudalism and of absolutism earlier than was the case in other lands. It is true that during the eighteenth century the former, and to a certain extent the latter also, of these two reactionary forces again raised its head; but in a terrific time of testing—the epoch of the struggle for the Great Reform Bill—English constitutionalism, working through the representative system, succeeded in defeating its ancient enemy once more, and also in preventing the control of affairs passing into the hands of the revolutionary elements which then threatened to proceed to extremes against the aristocracy.

During the nineteenth century took place the extension of the principle of constitutional and representative government to the Dominions of the British Empire. This step is chiefly to be laid to the credit of the Lord Durham who, after taking a leading part in the struggle for the Great Reform Bill, became Governor-General of Canada during a brief and stormy period, which was, however, long

enough to enable him to establish, through his famous Report, the principle of self-government for Canada. The principle was afterwards extended to the other Dominions of the British Empire, which thus became a new type of international association—one in which the contracting parties are free and independent, and are merely related by the bonds of affection and a common allegiance. The British Empire became, in other words, a Family of Nations, whose constituent members are self-governing through democratic representative institutions, but unite to decide in the best interests of the whole Family such questions as affect the well-being of the whole.

The United States of America.—However, before this happy result had been obtained, England had been saved as if by fire from a commercially-minded imperialism, due in the first instance to that eighteenth century revival of feudalism and autocracy which has been mentioned above. The traditions of this imperialism still survive in sundry relationships within and without the British Empire; but in the great revolt of the American Colonies, which seemed at the time to spell the doom of the whole Empire, a lesson was taught to the home Government from which it was not slow to learn. The great autonomous community formed by that Revolt has been instrumental in performing a great work for the liberation of the human spirit in a variety of fields. In the first place, the vast populations which have been added to the United States, by a continuously increasing stream of emigration from all the countries of Europe, have made it possible for a new international nation to be

founded across the Atlantic, free from the various forms of prejudice, antagonism and entrenched privilege which have fettered liberty in the Old World. In the second place, a peculiarly enthusiastic veneration for constitutionalism, as founded upon representative institutions, has been inculcated in the minds of all these varying racial and national elements which have gone to make up the new America : and thus a new international nation, now by far the strongest and wealthiest nation in the world, has been formed, under the influence of thoroughgoing and practical democratic principles. Moreover, these principles have of necessity exercised an important reflex influence upon the nations of the Old World from which the population of the United States has been built up. In the third place, there has been demonstrated, over a vast Continental area, the extraordinary prosperity and happiness which may result from (what was in its inception, and to a very large extent still is) a League of Nations, which grants a wide measure of liberty to its constituent states, but maintains freedom of trade for the whole Union, together with a certain degree of central control.

It was perhaps as a result of this last most important and practical contribution made by the United States to humanity that President Wilson, the emissary of the American League of Nations—then at the zenith of its power, and deliberately engaged upon a great task of beneficent reconstruction—found himself impelled during the critical days of the peace conference following the Great War to propose, work for, and in the end successfully embody as an integral part of the Peace Treaties, a

world-wide extension of this great American principle. Thus was brought into existence the World-League of Nations, which is a working attempt to save mankind, through the practical organisation of the world's goodwill and common sense, from self-destruction at the hands of anarchic and aggressive nationalism.

Thus, in spite of continual set-backs, innumerable follies, and not a few crimes, the achievements of the two great branches of the British race, in the British Empire and the United States of America, have during the past century and a half formed a valuable contribution from various points of view to the well-being of the future as founded in the free co-operation of mankind. That race has produced two great and concrete demonstrations of the spirit and practical organisation of the future world-state. It has succeeded in vindicating before the eyes of almost the whole world the fact that this world-state of the future, whatever the detailed method of its construction may be, must be founded on the principle of representative and constitutional government, in order that the peoples which shall make it up may enjoy as communities, and grant also to their individual citizens, the maximum of liberty in every sphere. The nature of Western liberty was, as we have seen, defined once and for all by the Greek genius. That ancient vision is even now in process of visible fulfilment in the vast confederation of North America, and in the autonomous democracies of the British Empire, each heir to the social and constitutional freedom won for them long ago by their ancestors in the little home-island, and each bound to the other by

ties not of force nor of defined and limited prerogative, but of mutual goodwill and family feeling.

France.—Thanks to the aristocratic mind of Richelieu, who held the power to sweep away his country's tragic social wrongs, but refrained from using it, and in this respect was followed by his great imitator, Louis XIV, France wallowed in the miseries brought about by a base and unnatural alliance between an autocratic monarch and a feudal aristocracy right up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. Then the pent-up forces of discontent broke forth in a vast explosion, and Europe knew again what power the word liberty held. Men saw a people one and indivisible, self-governing, united in equal right and brotherhood, with no privileged oligarchy as in ancient Rome or in the city-states of mediæval Italy, with no remnants of feudal aristocracy such as still lingered on in England, with no subject race held down in slavery, as in America. Men saw that bright vision for a space. It was swiftly clouded again by Terror, by Napoleonic Imperialism, by Reaction; yet Europe had seen, and neither Europe herself nor the farthest corners of the globe can ever forget that vision.

In the France of 1789 Greece lived again, risen from the dead before the eyes of men. After the long death of Roman militarism, of feudal tyranny, and of grinding absolutism, Democracy, such as for three generations had made Athens the home-land of liberty, the *fons et origo* of the spirit of progress and freedom, had at last returned to earth. No wonder that the great lovers of humanity, beholding what was on foot, acclaimed the Revolution

with a joy which was almost the joy of a prophet greeting the advent in material form of a new heaven on earth. Three years later their joy was turned to mourning, as the Paris mob used its power for ruthless frightfulness. Yet nothing that subsequently happened could altogether efface the memory of those few brief months of Resurrection. An ideal had been reborn in 1789 which it would take more—far more—than Robespierre and Napoleon and Metternich to entomb again. Thenceforth the Revolution, which means the rebirth of the Greek spirit of free and equal democracy, went on from strength to strength in its leavening and fermenting potency, until to-day—after what is, after all, so brief a lapse of time—there is scarcely a people under heaven which does not pay at least lip-service to the principles of 1789.

The true France is the France of the first days of the Revolution. The France of to-day may sometimes repel us by aggressive selfishness and militarism; but the soul of a people is safe which has once risen to those sublime and glorious heights. The lover of liberty, and the student of its rise and progress upon the earth, knows that beneath her harsh disguise the soul of the France of '89—which is the soul of the Athens of Pericles reborn—still needs but the right awakening to be manifest again, in a generous enthusiasm for the universal extension of her great revolutionary principles—Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood.

If the world owes to the British race the revival of Greek constitutionalism, it owes to the French race the revival of the Greek belief in the granting of equal opportunity, both social and political, to

every man, that he may give his best to the service of the whole community: and without this spirit no constitutional guarantees, however imposing, can give democracy to men.

Other Modern Peoples.—There are three modern peoples to whom must be given the glory above others of rediscovering the Greek ideal of a people's right to co-operative self-determination, in the sense of liberty from foreign imperialistic domination. The first of these peoples is a very small one—the Swiss, whose League of Perpetual Alliance against the Hapsburgs, dating from A.D. 1291, achieved the liberation of Switzerland from Austrian domination in the fourteenth century at the battles of Morgarten and Sempach—battles as memorable and splendid in the history of liberty as those of Marathon and Salamis.

Next in this noble series comes another little people, the Dutch, those 'Men of butter,' as Alva called them, who in a war of nearly forty years not only defeated and disgraced the greatest empire of the world—an empire backed by the man-power of half Europe and by the gold of the Indies—but also in so doing built up behind their battered city-walls, and beyond their broken dykes and ruined fields, a world-wide trade and a dominant naval power. "As long as there is a living man left in the country," cried their leader, William the Silent—one of those figures of supreme greatness who make an epoch in themselves—"we will fight for our liberty." They fought, and they won: and the giant Spain, with all her power and pride, went reeling down before the dwarf.

Lastly, Italy must be named again, Italy whose

Resurrection from the long death of Hapsburg domination was brought about by four ideal leaders of national revival—Victor Emmanuel, the monarch; Cavour, the statesman; Mazzini, the political philosopher; Garibaldi, the knight-errant of liberty. Here, again, the authentic spirit of Greece blazed up again for a time in the passionate and triumphant assertion of a nation's right to live its own life and to mould its own future.

Thus, throughout the centuries, we may study a glorious succession of service for mankind, service performed in every land and by men of every race, but all for the one great end—the achievement of a genuine, free brotherhood amongst men, and the liberation of the human spirit from all that holds it down in bondage, from all that prevents its unfettered activity in accordance with the will that is both free and good. In that age-long task of brotherhood and liberation East and West, Greek, Roman, English, German, French, have alike borne their share and made their contribution. Thus also, in the full co-operation and liberty of the future, mankind must needs expect, and profit by, the especial and individual contribution of every race and nation. For there is none to whom we can say, 'I have no need of thee.'

INDEX

A

Alexander the Great, 40, 50, 98, 112, 173, 183
Alva, Duke of (A.D. 1508–83), 199
America, see *United States*
Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria (175–164 B.C.), 76–7, 82
Arabia, 173–4
Aryan Race, The, 168
Asia, 45, 168, 176
Asoka, Emperor of India (272–232 B.C.), 40
Assyrians, 76, 81, 174
Athens, 179-80, 181, 197, 198
Augustine, St, *The City of God*, 98, 188
Augustus Cæsar, 40, 184–5, 189, 190

B

Babylonians, 81, 174
Belgium, 76
Bergson, Henri, 38 n., 111
Besant, Mrs Annie, 127 n.
Bhagavadgita, quoted, 127
Bhakti School of Thought, The, 126 ff.
Bible, The, 46, 116
Bonaparte, Napoleon, see *Napoleon Bonaparte*
Britain, Great, 10, 55, 160, 192 ff., 198
  Parliament, 192
    Acts of, see *Reform Bill*
British Empire, The, 10, 42, 55, 113, 174, 193–4, 196
Bryce, Viscount, *Modern Democracies*, 18
Buddha, Gautama, 169
Byzantium, see *Constantinople*

C

Cæsar-worship, 80
Canada, 193–4
Cavour, Count, 200
China, 11, 40, 163 ff., 174, 176
Christ, see *Jesus*
Christianity, 34, 37, 48, 54, 117, 124 ff., 132, 135 ff., 149 ff., 157, 175 ff., 188 ff., 191
Constance, Council of (1414–18), 190
Constantinople, 53
Cro-magnard Race, The, 60–1
Crusades, The, 14–15, 174

D

Danton, Georges Jacques, 170, 171

Durham, Earl of, Governor-General of British North America, 193
Dutch, The, see *Holland*

E

Egypt, 39, 174
England, 133, 193, 197, 200
Europe, 14, 45, 117, 186 ff., 191, 197

F

France, 10–11, 51, 55, 160, 174, 187, 197 ff.
  Revolution in (1789), 11, 51, 55, 191, 197–8, 200
Freeman, Professor E. A., 13

G

Galilee, 84, 87, 90, 97, 135
Gandhi, Mahatma, 99–100, 169
Gardiner, S. R., 16
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 32–3, 200
Garrison, W. L., 170, 171
Germany, 11, 54, 174, 189, 191, 200
Great Britain, see *Britain*
Greece, 39, 50, 53, 55, 68, 82, 98, 116, 174, 177 ff., 183, 186, 187, 192, 197, 198–9, 200
Green, J. R., 16
Gregory VII., Pope, see *Hildebrand*

H

Hapsburg, House of, 199, 200
Hellenism, 81
Herodian Princes, 80–81, 87, 88, 89
Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII), 43, 189, 190
Hinduism, see *Bhakti School of Thought*
Hindus, 99–100, 169
Hodgkin, Dr Henry, *The Way of Jesus*, quoted, 105 n.
Holy Roman Empire, The, 11, 43–4, 189
Holland, 55, 199
Homer, 22

I

India, 11, 39, 80, 82, 99 ff., 125 ff., 133, 135–6, 167 ff.
Isaiah, 49 n.
Islam, 100, 169, 173 ff., 176
Italy, 11, 51, 183, 191, 197, 199–200

J

Jerusalem, 84, 86, 89
  The Temple in, 77, 93
Jesus Christ, 32, 48, 54, 57, 58, 68 ff., 75 ff., 111, 130, 134, 135 ff., 146–7, 150 ff. 176, 188, 189–90
Jews, The, 15, 45–6, 77 ff., 175
Jonah, Book of, 49, 77
Josephus, Flavius (37–*c.* 100 A.D.), 81–2, quoted, 87

Judaism, 45–6, 47, 48, 49, 68, 77 ff., 81, 175
Judas Iscariot, 92, 101 ff.
Julius Cæsar, 184, 189

K

Kabir, 169
Kennedy, Professor H. A. A., *St Paul and the Mystery Religions*, quoted, 127

L

League of Nations, The, 9, 10, 42, 57, 75, 113, 193, 195–6
Lincoln, Abraham, 32, 52, 56
Lodge, Sir Oliver, quoted, 147, 151
Louis XIV., King of France, 197
Luther, Martin, 47, 191

M

Maccabees, The, 83
Macnicol, Dr Nicol, *Indian Theism*, quoted, 128; *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*, quoted, 128–9
Magna Carta, 192
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 170, 200
Mesopotamia, 39, 81, 85, 184
Messiah, Conceptions of the, 83, 85–6, 89, 90 ff.
Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, 129
More, Sir Thomas, 171
Muhammadanism, see *Islam*
Musalmans, see *Islam*
Mystery-religions, 126–7

N

Napoleon Bonaparte, 44, 50, 113 198
Nazareth, 88, 190
New Testament, The, 57, 79

O

Old Testament, The, 46–7, 49, 76, 77
Oxford, 13

P

Palestine, 79, 81–2, 84, 173 ff.
Papacy, The, 43–4, 50, 54, 98, 188 ff.
Persians, 174, 180
Peter, St, Apostle, 92
Pharisees, The, 82 ff., 85, 93
Philip of Macedon, 51
Philip II., King of Spain, 50
Plato, 22, 181
Republic, 22
Protestantism, see *Reformation*
Puritans, The, 47
Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (318–272 B.C.), 183

R

Ramananda, 169
Reform Bill, The (1832), 187, 193

Reformation, The Protestant, 11, 46–7, 48–9, 175, 191
Renaissance, The, 117, 123, 190, 191
Richelieu, Cardinal, 197
Rome, Church of, 11, 46, 175, 186, 189–90, 191
  City of, 33, 39, 44, 182, 183
  Empire of, 11, 42 ff., 50, 53, 68, 79–80, 84, 89, 92–3, 96 ff., 112, 166–7, 174, 176, 183 ff., 187, 190, 192, 197, 200
Russia, 51

S

Sadducees, The, 93, 138
Samaritans, The, 81 ff., 88, 89, 94
Shakespeare, William, 115 ff.
Socrates, 55, 181, 191
Spain, 199
Stoicism, 68
Switzerland, 55, 199

T

Tacitus, 35
Tagore, Sir Rabindranath, *Gitanjali*, quoted, 170; *Kabir*, quoted, 169
Tarquin Dynasty, The, 182
Thucydides, 179
Treitschke, Heinrich von, 22
Turks, The, 187

U

United States of America, The, 11, 42, 51, 52, 55, 98, 113, 194 ff., 197
  Congress, 98
  Constitution, 179
  Declaration of Independence, 170, 171

V

Victor Emmanuel II. of Piedmont, first King of United Italy, 44, 200
Vienna, 44, 187

W

War, The American Civil, 52
  The Great, 9, 21, 22, 40, 47, 147, 195
  Peace Treaties, 40, 195–6
  The Second Punic, 183
Wars of Religion, The, 117
Washington, George, 98
Wells, H. G., *Outline of History*, 64
Wilberforce, William, 56, 170
William the Silent, Prince of Orange, quoted, 199
Wilson, President Woodrow, 195
Wycliffe, John, 170, 171

Z

Zealots, The, 84 ff., 93, 97

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